



THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
On the Antiquities of Wiltshire T. J. Pettigrew	1
On the Pedigree of Patrick Fitz Walter, first Earl of Salisbury } J. R. Planché	26
On Salisbury Cathedral C. E. Davis	46
On the Ancient Sculptured Stones of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man } J. G. French	63
On Treasure-Trove G. Vere Irving	81
On the same R. Temple	100
On the Sepulchral Effigies in Salisbury Cathedral	J. R. Planché 115
On Early Christian Buildings and their Decora- tions } G. Godwin	131
History of Salisbury Bell Foundry W. C. Lukis	141
On Excavations at Gib Hill Tumulus T. Bateman	151
On Pembridge Castle T. Wakeman	153
On Uriconium T. Wright	205, 311
On Celtic Antiquities found in Lincolnshire and Dorsetshire } H. Syer Cuming	225
On British Antiquities found in Lancashire H. Syer Cuming	231
On the Date of the Battle of Kaltraez G. Vere Irving	237
On the Ancient Royal Palace of Clarendon T. J. Pettigrew	246
On the Earthworks at Old Sarum G. Vere Irving	291
On the Sarum Tonal MS. J. Lambert	302
On Ancient Spindles H. Syer Cuming	306
Original Documents	204, 318

Proceedings of the Salisbury Congress	105, 174
Proceedings of the Association	265, 336, 344, 350, 355, 358
Annual General Meeting: Report of Auditors, Election of Officers and Council, etc.	160
Donation Fund	162
Obituary for 1858	164
Election of Associates, 265, 271, 273, 284, 286, 287, 344, 350, 355, 358	
Presents to the Association, 265, 271, 273, 282, 284, 286, 287, 336, 344, 350, 355, 359	
Errata and Addenda	364
Index	365
List of plates and separate woodcuts	368
List of Associates for 1859-60	369

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

MARCH 1859.

ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF WILTSHIRE.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P. AND TREASURER.

FOURTEEN years have now elapsed since the first attempt in this country was made by the British Archaeological Association, following the example instituted by the antiquaries of Normandy at Caen, to hold a congress for the examination and consideration of the antiquities of any given locality. Our first essay was made, in September 1844, in the county of Kent; and the meeting was held at Canterbury. It was at that time deemed necessary to offer arguments in favour of such inquiries. These, happily, are now no longer required; for the results of that meeting established upon a firm basis the utility of such assemblages, and convinced those who were sceptical as to their value. Since that time, among other bodies besides the Association and the Institute, belonging to, and holding their ordinary sittings in, London, many local societies have followed the example, and thereby given to the public more general and more just notions of the antiquities of our island than had hitherto been afforded. Among those branches formed for the promotion of archaeological research, stands conspicuously the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, established in 1854; with whose members we have the gratification this day of associating in the warmest feelings of friendship. That a society should be established and flourish in this county, cannot be a matter of surprise; for

the locality presents to us a vast series of objects of the deepest interest, and worthy of the most serious consideration. The county, too, it must be admitted, has been peculiarly fortunate in having to boast of labourers in the department of antiquities who have given to the world the important results of their researches in works which constitute no insignificant objects in the libraries of those who devote themselves to, and delight in, the illustration of antiquities and history.

A modern poet, of much merit, has designated the past as the great text-book in which the present should con its lessons. Experience is the daughter of Time; and the knowledge of what, in former days, was achieved, both in a moral and physical sense, cannot but be productive of good; while a study of the beautiful in art, whether it be apparent in a statue or an ivy-covered ruin, elevates the sentiments, and refines the taste, enabling men to be better judges of the performances of their contemporaries, and to appreciate the excellences, or detect the faults, which may distinguish the erections from time to time springing up in their own country.

The fraternization of the parent bodies with their local offspring is much to be desired, and should be warmly cherished. Mutual benefit must inevitably result. This we have eminently felt during our last two congresses in Somersetshire and in Norfolk. The respected president of the latter body (sir J. P. Boileau, bart.) well observed, at the meeting at Norwich, that "it was too true that, either from the indolence which prevailed too generally, or from the neglect which was accustomed to follow familiarity, those who lived in the midst of interesting objects were too apt to pass them over without sufficient attention; and sometimes, from a want of acquaintance with similar objects which existed elsewhere, they were unable to generalize, or to form such correct views, as they would do if they had a more enlarged knowledge. It was therefore, he conceived, a great advantage to any locality to be visited by intelligent gentlemen from other parts of the country, who, with fresh eyes and fresh interest, would be able to point out many things which had escaped their own observation." I trust the same happy consequences may ensue from the present occasion; and that by the freedom of our intercourse, the

liberal exchange of our ideas, and the candour with which we discuss our several opinions, we may succeed in establishing friendly relations, and form and cement friendships as effectually in Wiltshire as in Norfolk; for such being devoid of all political or other hostility, and having for their basis the illustration of the antiquities and history of our country, must constitute some of the most engaging events of our existence.

The Wiltshire Society has had the good fortune to have been presided over by persons of the highest attainments and the most refined taste; and the discourses delivered by Mr. Poulett Scrope, the hon. Sidney Herbert, the rev. Mr. Jackson, the rev. Mr. Fane, and others, published in the *Wiltshire Magazine*, are valuable, not only for the learning they display, and the knowledge of the subject they exhibit, but also for the aid they give to us by pointing out the desiderata particularly worthy of our present regard and attention. In making the arrangements for this meeting, we have powerfully felt the value of such assistance, and have only to regret that, from the very limited period which is at our command, from the diversity of engagements that press upon us on all sides, we are unable to devote a larger portion of time to their consideration. Glad, indeed, should we have been to have embraced a survey of the whole of this most interesting county,—a county so rich, that the radius of a few miles only can with advantage be undertaken by us; and within that range, and during the short period of one week, we are enabled to bring under examination a variety of important objects in many departments of antiquity and history. Herein consists the advantage of such gatherings. Each individual is able to contribute his mite, and apply his knowledge, to the elucidation of the subjects under consideration; and let it be remembered that, however trifling these may be esteemed to be by those who so cheerfully and so modestly, on these occasions, render them, they often serve to fill up and complete the links of the chain of evidence required, and justify the conclusions at which we may arrive.

In PRIMEVAL ANTIQUITIES, the field open to us is of the most interesting character. Prominent in this class must be mentioned STONEHENGE,—mysterious monuments, maintaining the secrets of their origin with indomitable pertinacity:

resisting the inquiries of ages, and all efforts satisfactorily to solve the origin of their erection, and the purposes to which they were dedicated. The traditions regarding them are too obscure to assist in the solution of the difficulty. Well, therefore, may they have been assigned by the unlettered and superstitious to the giants of old, and be even conjectured to be but the transformation of their individual bodies into material of such durable and imperishable nature.

It would be foreign to my present purpose to enter upon a review of the various theories that have been promulgated in regard to these marvellous erections. Diodorus is esteemed as the first author to whom we can apply for information; and he appears to refer to them when he tells us¹ that, under the Bear, beyond the Celtæ, there was an island, to the north, little inferior in magnitude to Sicily, in which the hyperborean race adored Apollo as the supreme divinity. This worship was carried on in a circular temple, within a magnificent and consecrated grove, whence issued songs of praise poured forth to the deity by the priests of the island, accompanied by the music of their harps. The language of this people, the historian says, was their own; but they had been visited by Greeks, and various offerings and gifts had been made to the temple, bearing inscriptions in the Greek language. Over the town and temple presided the Boreadæ, their priests and rulers. This account is presumed to have reference to the Temple of Stonehenge, described by one nearly two thousand years since, and then given upon the authority of a writer of a still more remote antiquity.

Many accounts, both of the number and arrangement of the stones presumed to have belonged to this temple, so remarkable for their several magnitudes, have been given. Stukeley made excavations in their neighbourhood, and instituted other minute inquiries. The stones, he tells us, are not artificial; but have, in all probability, been brought from the Grey Wethers on Marlborough Downs,—a distance from the site they occupy of not less than fifteen or sixteen miles. In their neighbourhood have been found the bones of animals, oxen, deer, and other beasts; but no human remains have been discovered. These are only to be obtained from those circumjacent barrows now rendered so familiar to us by the labours of Cunnington, Hatcher, Hoare,

¹ Hist., lib. ii, p. 130.

Duke, and others, highly distinguished by the researches they have made. The connexion of the pillars of stone with the astronomical and mythological notions of the ancients has led most authors to connect them with oriental architecture and science, and hence to derive the form and arrangement of the Druidical temple,—a temple not enclosed and covered over, but, in conformity with the idea of the power and influence of the deity, bounded by no limits, enclosed within no scanty shrine,—open to the heavens; realizing the well-known and admired lines of Pope, as expressed in his “Universal Prayer”—

“Whose temple is all space,
Whose altar earth, sea, skies !”

That which has been handed down to us, or recorded as belonging to the sacerdotal order in Druidism, is so closely allied to oriental customs, that we cannot be surprised at the conclusions derived from such considerations in regard to those monuments which it will be our good fortune to examine during this Congress. To contemplate those huge stones surmounted by their ponderous transoms or lintels; to mark, in the language of Stukeley, “the chasms of sky between the jambs of the trilithons; to see, as it were, a whole quarry mounted in the air, and to look upon the rude havoc below, resembling “the bowels of a mountain turned inside out”—will be our privilege on this occasion. But, imperfect as the remains now are, they will yet serve to force upon us the conviction that they may have been once dedicated to the rites of a dark and mysterious religion. “Perhaps”, says an enthusiastic writer on this subject, “these very stones have reverberated the shrieks of midnight sacrifices, and stood the silent witnesses of barbarous superstition, framed by priestcraft to subjugate the minds of simple men to dread authority! Perhaps, in gentler power, they have listened to the voice of sacred truth and humble piety, teaching the lessons of humanity to a fierce and savage people, and binding the untamed children of primeval forests by sacred rites, suited, and no more, to the object of reclaiming them to civilized life and religion.”¹

Neither legend nor fable (the oral hieroglyphics of the unlettered period) are to be found, conveying to us intelli-

¹ Voice from Stonchenge, by the rev. H. M. Glover, p. 5.

gence of their erection or purposes; yet there are those who do not think them beyond the limits of traditional record, if we would take the pains to investigate it.¹ It is highly deserving of notice that monuments like to those of Stonehenge, which must have been the works of many years, are found either by the sea, or in districts but little removed from it; that they seem to indicate an established worship of a people who arrived by sea, formed their settlement on the coast, and penetrated inland only to a very moderate extent. Their work, however, would appear to have been that of an ambitious people, possibly ignorant of letters, yet skilled in mechanical art, and able to employ many labourers in concert. Their number still extant in Brittany, attest their residence not to have been of short duration, but to have continued for a considerable period.²

The early history of Britain, like that of most other nations, is involved in obscurity; and it is difficult to ascertain with precision anything in regard to its original inhabitants. It is, however, admitted that they were a Celtic race, and had migrated hither from the opposite coast of Gaul. Our information upon this subject is derived from Greek and Roman writers; none of whom, however, were at all acquainted with our island until subsequent to the invasion by Cæsar in A.D. 55. By these authorities the Druids are represented as having possessed all authority in matters of religion and justice. The last spot of Druidical importance is esteemed to have been the Isle of Anglesey; and there traces of a sacred stone circle are still to be found.

The priests were not only the ministers of religion, but also the expounders of the law, its administrators, and the depositories of whatever knowledge or civilization existed. Much superstition naturally prevailed at such a time, and under such circumstances. The vulgar were only to be controlled by the influence of fables and the inspiration of terror; and these have been successfully handed down to posterity in lieu of those higher and more rational doctrines which, it may be presumed, were only imparted to those suited for their reception. Secresy—inviolable secresy—secured by the administration of an oath to the priesthood, also operated

¹ See Grover and Herbert, who assign to them a date subsequent to the destruction of the Roman empire.

² See Herbert's *Cyclops Christianus*.

to prevent the communication of that knowledge which now we should be so delighted to possess.

The worship of the most striking objects in nature, and the most remarkable phenomena, formed the basis of their devotions. The sun, the moon, and the element of fire, were then very generally, perhaps universally, worshipped. To these, then, may be attributed the purposes of the temple at Stonehenge, and other similar structures. It is, however, in vain to speculate; and it is to be feared that, in the absence of all written records, the subject will remain in obscurity. I shall not attempt to trace the history of Druidism, or to consider whether the Phœnicians were tinctured with its doctrines; whether they were transmitted to or from the Celts by them. Druidism has generally been regarded as indigenous to the Celtic race. It was probably also ubiquitous, and must have come hither with the first stock of that wide-spread family. "It was (as Grover asserts) acclimated to our latitudes; and, sown as an exotic seed in the European soil, it budded, bladed, and fruited, by an original and innate vigour, as a distant plant or order among the priest-hoods of the earth. The relics of its mysteries, through all its periods and progresses, are discovered only among the haunts of that old people, from the first rude cromlech to the magnificent stations of Stonehenge and Abury."¹

Circles of stones, varying in magnitude, have been met with in different parts of England, occasionally connected with an interment in their centre, but also frequently without signs of burial.² When an interment has been found, it

¹ P. 10.

² Mr. John Stuart, the able secretary of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, has obligingly drawn my attention to the stone monuments of Scotland. Unable to join our Congress at Salisbury, he writes: "As you are aware, stone circles of various sizes abound in Scotland. It is not, I believe, above a century and a half since they were associated with the Druids, and received the name by which they are now generally known, 'Druidical circles.' There seems to be no evidence for attributing such an origin to these circles; but until lately people have been content to theorize, from the shape of the monuments, and the position of one stone generally to be found in them (called an altar), without sufficiently investigating the sites on which the stones are placed. In preparing for the Spalding Club, *The Sculptured Stone Monuments of Scotland*, I was led to dig around some of the sculptured stones, and also around some of the stone circles in different parts of the country. The result shewed, in almost every instance, some traces of sepulchral deposits; and I am not without hope that a proper examination of Stonehenge would shew Montfaucon's opinion, that it was a sepulchral monument, is not far from the truth; at all events, that sepulchral remains will be found in connexion with the stones of Stonehenge, Avebury, and of Carnac in Brittany."

has been of the class known by the appellation of cromlechs. Our learned associate, Mr. Thos. Bateman, of Derbyshire, has given us an excellent account of one in his county, known as Arbour Low,¹ which was nearly one hundred and fifty feet in diameter, and surrounded by a deep entrenchment. At our Winchester Congress, the rev. Mr. Isaacson called our attention to the particulars of this spot; and Mr. Bateman further acquaints me that there is a single point of analogy between Arbour Low and Abury, overlooked by Mr. Isaacson, namely, the winding ridge of earth connecting the former with Gib Hill tumulus (of which Mr. Bateman will give us an account during the present meeting), which answers to the serpentine avenue proceeding from the latter to the Hak-Pen, or Overton Hill. The names Abury and Arbour Low, he thinks, may also be probably identical in derivation and significance. According to the rev. J. B. Deane, AUB is the original (Hebrew) name of the sacred serpent; AUR that of the solar deity. "Low" is a termination, Mr. Bateman thinks, added in Saxon times, to denote the sepulchral nature of many localities in Derbyshire. However, Arbour Low is certainly a religious structure, whether ophite or not. Mr. Lukis, our great authority in these inquiries, saw it about four years since, and assigned it a place in his system of Celtic megaliths, in the sixth class, termed "peristalith", considered as entirely sepulchral; although further on he seems to assert its ceremonial character. Perhaps the two opinions are easily reconcilable. I have already mentioned, that around Stonehenge, but not within it, numerous barrows presenting interments have been found. This may account for various legends in relation to it bearing a sepulchral reference. Many, if not all, of these accounts are to be looked upon as fabulous; and the statement of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who describes the stones as having been brought from Ireland to form a monument to the memory of British princes murdered by Hengist and the Saxons, is not entitled to credit.

Abury, or Avebury, is unfortunately at too great a distance from Salisbury to be embraced among the objects for inspection during this Congress. It is, however, an object of at least equal interest with that of Stonehenge, and of much greater extent, covering an enormous surface, which,

¹ See *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*.

from enclosures and other means of civilization and cultivation, is rendered difficult of observation. On this subject, however, we are enabled to refer our members to the valuable researches of our associate, Mr. W. Long, of Bath, in his work entitled *Abury Illustrated*.¹

The upright stones of Stonehenge are to be distinguished from others of the same class by the circumstance of their having been hewn and squared by tools and other mechanical appliances, as is shewn by the tenons on their tops, for reception into corresponding mortices in the stones placed upon them. The marks of man's labour upon them constitute a remarkable feature in this relic of antiquity. I believe that in no other similar structure are tenons and mortices to be found, or any evidences of wrought or hewn stones to be produced.

The stones belonging to this monument are of two kinds. The larger of those forming the outer circle are, together with the inner triliths, of sandstone, found upon the spot or in the neighbourhood; whilst the smaller stones forming the inner circle, together with those between the triliths, are of a stone found in Devonshire. Dr. Townson minutely examined the various stones; and of the larger ones he says, they are a pure, fine grained, compact sandstone, like that in the vicinity of Avebury and Marlborough. Of the second kind, they consist of a fine grained grüstein, interspersed with black hornblende felspar, quartz, and chlorite. There are also among the stones examples of a siliceous schist, an argillaceous schist, and also some of hornstone with specks of felspar and pyrites. The altar stone is different from all the others, being a kind of grey cos—a very fine grained calcareous sandstone with minute spangles of silver mica.

I will dwell no longer on this most curious and interesting theme. I have, perhaps, already taken up too much of your time upon the subject, viewed in relation to the information I have been able to convey; but the subject still forms a *questio recata*, and, as such, demands our utmost attention.

Near to Stonehenge, and among the objects of our visitation, is Ambresbury, Ambrosebury, Ambrosia, Ambrii Ccenobium, or Amesbury, the site of an ancient British monastery

¹ Dezizes, 1858. 8vo. See also *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, vol. iv.
1859

for three hundred monks; but converted by Alfrida, or Ethelfrida, queen dowager of king Edgar, about the year 960, into a monastery for nuns. The foundation has been said to have been made by her as an atonement for the murder of her son-in-law, king Edward. The monastery was of the Benedictine order, and it remained independent till the reign of Henry II. The abbess and nuns had a bad character; and in 1177 their evil lives drew upon them the royal displeasure, and occasioned the dissolution of their community. About thirty nuns were dispersed, and disposed of in other establishments; and the abbess was allowed to go at large with a pension of ten marks. The house now became a cell to Font-Everault, in Anjou; and a prioress, with twenty-four nuns, were transported thence to Amesbury. King John conferred many privileges upon this monastery, and secured to it all its former grants and possessions. Eleanor, sister of the earl Arthur, was buried here in 1241. Females in the higher ranks of life sought it as a place of retreat; and in 1285, Mary, sixth daughter of Edward I, together with thirteen young ladies of noble families, took the religious habit. Two years subsequently to this, Eleanor, queen of Henry III, and mother of Edward I, herself took the veil here, died here, and was buried here also. It may therefore be presumed to have been a wealthy monastery, yet no register of it is known to be extant. It surrendered in December 1540 (32nd Henry VIII), and the site was granted to Edward earl of Hertford.¹ The seal of the nunnery is engraved in the fourth volume of sir R. C. Hoare's *Wilts*.

The origin of the town of Amesbury is assigned to Aurelius Ambrosius, an ancient British king, and the successor of Vortigern. To those better versed in the Welsh *Triads* than I profess to be, I leave the determination of the claims made for him by them and Geoffrey of Monmouth, in connexion with this place. Sir Richard Colt Hoare, bart., has disputed² the right of king Ambrosius to this distinction, and is disposed to assign the derivation of the name of the town to a more remote, more probable, and more dignified origin. In Ambresbury, he says, we recognize the town of Ambres. Maen-Amber, he further tells us, upon the authority of Camden, is a noted stone, near Penzance in Cornwall,

¹ Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*. Wiltshire.

² *Auncient Wiltescire*, i, 197.

of vast bigness, yet capable of being moved by a little finger. Maen-Amber he derives from *maen*, the British for a stone, and *αμβροσιος*, the Greek for divine or holy. Thus we have, in Latin, *lapis ambrosius*, or *petra ambrosia*. There are other particulars that might be cited in support of this etymology, which may be found in Stukeley and other authorities. Mr. Duke has pursued the subject, and intimates his acquiescence in the opinion by a remark worthy of notice, relating to the finding in the neighbourhood an ancient encampment. The Saxon word for camp is *bury*: hence he sees in Ambres-bury, or *burie*, the camp near the Holy Stones.¹ The camp at Amesbury is known as that of Vespasian; but the authority for the same is somewhat doubtful.

The church at Amesbury, though deprived of most of its ancient features, will be found worthy of our attention.²

The barrows of Wiltshire are both numerous and varied. If opportunity offers, I shall draw your notice particularly to this subject, which has, however, been laboriously worked out by the late sir R. Colt Hoare, bart.: and I shall also crave your patience in regard to monumental stones of various kinds. The rev. Mr. Fane will obligingly detail to us the particulars of his examination of the most recently opened barrow in the county, and display to us the interesting results.

Among those to whom Wiltshire is to be considered as under great obligations, must be mentioned the historian of Salisbury, the late Henry Hatcher, an original member of our Association, and one who exerted himself for our welfare to the close of his life. The labours of this gentleman have been duly estimated by all true lovers of antiquarian and historical research. Having paid my tribute of regard, and expressed the feelings of the Association upon his loss, at our fourth Congress (held at Warwick in 1847), I forbear further to allude to him on this occasion; but I am anxious to correct an error into which I fell when noticing his researches in relation to the explorations at the ancient palace at Clarendon, in company with Dr. Richard Fowler.³ I have mentioned the latter most highly respected and learned gentleman as the *late* Dr. Fowler. Long may it be ere that

¹ *Prolusiones Historiæ*, p. 592.

² A good view of the church is engraved in Hoare's *Wills*, vol. iv.

³ See *Journal*, vol. iii, p. 138.

word is duly applicable to him. We have the great gratification of having him among our vice-presidents, on this occasion, with powers of mind and amiability of manners; alive to all that is passing, vigorous in his recollection of past times and early discoveries, and at the advanced age of ninety-two years. He has the enviable distinction—and long may he continue to enjoy it—of being the father of the Royal Society; and of him it may be truly said, that he has not failed to keep progress with the extended discoveries in science which have been produced during his long and honoured career.

To Mr. Hatcher we probably owe, in conjunction with his friend, Mr. Cunningham (a grandson of whom, with kindred ancestral fire, is a member of our Congress committee), the first suggestion to explore the barrows of Salisbury Plain. Mr. Coxe, to whom Mr. Hatcher was attached, embraced his views in this matter; and they were afterwards further carried out by the late sir R. Colt Hoare, bart., with distinguished success. Mr. Hatcher contributed to our *Winchester Transactions* a valuable paper on the Roman roads and stations of Hampshire; and was engaged upon a memoir of Richard of Cirencester, for our Gloucester Congress, when the hand of death rather unexpectedly removed him from among us. From his pen, however, we were so fortunate as to receive reports on Roman tessellated pavements at West Dean, Wilts, which have been printed and illustrated in our Winchester volume (pp. 239-245).

OLD SARUM. The finest example of earthworks in the county is offered in the remains of Old Sarum. Various are the periods embraced by this most valuable relic. We have ancient British, Roman, Saxon, and Danish, all before our eyes; and we cannot too greedily avail ourselves of the opportunity now afforded us to contemplate its various peculiarities. In the survey of this interesting spot we shall have the advantage of Mr. Swayne's guidance, and his knowledge of the locality; whilst our able and learned associate, Mr. G. Vere Irving, will favour us with his remarks on the construction of its earthworks, etc. Old Sarum is known to have been an ancient British fortress, a city of the Belgæ. Alfred made entrenchments and palisades in A.D. 872. It was the seat of a national council in 960, when king Edgar repelled the Danes. In 1086 the Conqueror here established

the principle of the feudal system. It was at this time a stately fortress, and held in royal possession. Other councils were held by William Rufus in 1096, and by Henry I in 1116.

Herman, bishop of Wilton, chaplain to Edward the Confessor, removed from Sherborne (a see united with that of Wilton), and took up his residence at Searobyrig, or Sarum, about the year 1076 or 1077. He died in 1078, and could therefore have done little, or perhaps nothing, in regard to the building of the cathedral here: which is generally attributed to bishop Osmund, who, with the assistance of Walkeline, bishop of Winchester, and John of Bath, consecrated it on the 5th of April, 1092: the charter of its foundation being of a date one year preceding. This accomplished, the roof of the tower was shortly after struck by lightning, and the building greatly injured. The extent of damage was considerable, as we find in the rhyming chronicle of Robert of Gloucester:—

“So gret lytnynge was the vyfte yer, so that al to noȝt
The rof of the chyrch of Salesbury it brougte,
Ryte euene the vyfte day that he yhalwed was.” (P. 416).

Osmund was a Norman, and came into England with the Conqueror; and to him was entrusted the government of the castle. It was subsequently held by the earls of Salisbury; and it is not improbable that, by this alteration in the arrangement of the custodians, the disputes between the soldiers and the priests were promoted and pursued. Osmund was a man of great authority; he was earl of Dorset, and also lord chancellor; and, by his possessions of various valuable manors, was enabled to endow the church of Sarum. This was effected by charter, April 5, 1091, and ratified at Hastings by William Rufus.¹ The situation of the old church at Sarum being within the walls of the royal fortress, the canons and others became exposed to insults from the soldiery. The place was also ungenial, being represented as “barren, dry,² and solitary, exposed to the rage

¹ Osmund endowed the new cathedral by devoting to it large possessions in Wilts and Dorset; and he provided for the maintenance of a dean, thirty-two canons secular, four archdeacons (two for Wilts and two for Dorset and Berks), and also for a competent number of choristers and subordinate officers.—Hatcher, p. 12.

² The want of water at Old Sarum would appear to have been remarkable,

of the winds"; and the church was further compared to "a captive on the hill, where it was built, like the ark of God, shut up in the profane house of Baal".¹ The brawls and affrays are described by Harrison, a writer of the time of Elizabeth.² These caused the migration to the present spot in the reign of Richard I. After this, Old Sarum underwent many changes. Leland, to whom we must all refer, speaks of it, under the reign of Henry VIII, as a thing that "hath beene auncient and exceeding strong: but syns the building of *New-Saresbyri* it went totally to ruine. Sum think that lak of water caussid the inhabitantes to relinquish the place; yet were ther many welles of swete water. Sum say that after, in tyme of civile warres, that castelles and waullid townes wer kept; that the castellanes of Old Saresbyri and the chanons could not agre, insomuch that the castellanes upon a time prohibited them cumming home from procession and rogation to reentre the toun: where-upon the bisshop and they consulting togiether, at the last began a chirch on his own proper soyle, and then the people resortid strait to New Saresbyri, and builded ther; and then, in continuaunce, wer a great numbre of the houses of Old Saresbyri pullid down, and set up at New Saresbyri."³

Stukeley visited old Sarum at a much later period; and in 1722 gives a description of it in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*.⁴ The walls at this time were still manifest, and parts left. A very small portion is all I could detect, when I viewed it a few months since.

The change of church from Old to New Sarum was effected by Richard Pauper or Poore; and of this event, dean William de Wanda has given a particular account.⁵ A

as is shewn by the appellation of the place. With the Romans it was *Sorbiodunum*. "Sorbio" is a Celtic word, and signifies dry; and "dun" is a fortress. The Saxons called it *Searbyrig*, *Searobyrig*, *Scareberi*, and *Saeresbyri*; whence comes Salisbury of the moderns. In Saxon, "scar" is the word for dry, and "byrig" means a town.

¹ See Peter de Blois, *Epist.*—

"Quid domini domus in castro? Nisi fœderis area
In templo Baalim; career uterque locus."

² In his *Description of Britaine*, prefixed to Holinshed's *Chronicles*.

³ *Itinerary*, vol. iii, p. 90.

⁴ In the sixth *Iter*, plate 67, is given a view of Old Sarum, and of the cathedral and town of Salisbury, taken from Harnham Hill, in 1723; and plates 65 and 66 give other representations of Old Sarum.

⁵ See Dodsworth's *Cathedral of Sarum*, p. 197 et seq.

wooden chapel was begun in 1219. The foundation of the cathedral was laid in 1220 by the bishop, who placed the first stone for Pope Honorius; the second for Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury; the third for himself; the fourth was laid by William Longspée, earl of Sarum; and the fifth by Ela de Vitri, countess of Salisbury, his wife. Others were then placed by various noblemen, the dean, chaunter, chancellor, treasurer, archdeacons, and canons. In 1225 it was fitted for the performance of Divine service, and solemnly celebrated on Michaelmas-day. Three altars celebrated—1. To Holy Trinity and All Saints, on which the mass of the Virgin was to be daily sung; 2. To St. Peter; 3. To St. Stephen and the rest of the martyrs. The bodies of Osmund, Roger, and Joceline, were brought from the castle of Sarum to the new cathedral in 1226.

Thus in the department of architectural antiquities we are fortunate in having for our consideration one of the most interesting of English cathedrals; and the continuation of its history will be exhibited in the course of the examination of the edifice, placed in the able hands of Mr. C. E. Davis. It is to be lamented that the remarks made by Professor Willis at the Institute meeting at Salisbury, in 1849, have not been printed. I trust they are merely postponed; but I cannot but feel fearful in regard to their appearance after the lapse of so long a period since their delivery.

Among the ecclesiastical establishments pertaining to Salisbury, we must not omit to enumerate a house of Franciscans or Grey Friars, and another of Dominicans or Black Friars. The former was established by bishop Poore in 1227, and was situated near to the south-east entrance to the close. Leland mentions another, the foundation of which he attributes to a citizen of the name of Pude or Sude, and speaks of it as having been removed from Old Sarum. The Black Friars' was at "Fisschertown",¹ a suburb of Salisbury, built near the bridge. Its foundation was half a century after that of the Grey Friars', and is attributed to Edward I and archbishop Kilwardy, to whom Godwin assigns entirely its endowment. No vestiges remain.

¹ "In this Fisschertown, now a suburbe to *New-Saresbyri*, was, sins the erection of the new town, an house of *blake freres*, buillid not far from Fisscherton bridge. Ther was also an house of *gray freres* withyn the town of *Saresbyri*, of the foundation of . . . bishop of *Saresbyri*."—Leland, *Itin.* iii, 89.



Before I quit this part of my subject, I must mention that we have to visit in Salisbury three churches, those of St. Thomas, St. Edmund, and St. Martin. These should be the repositories of parish history, and I doubt not, should their records be forthcoming (and in this respect there is no lack of kindness or liberality here), Mr. Black will, I am certain, impart to us some curious information. Let all inscriptions be carefully copied; these are of the utmost consequence, and they are among the most evanescent of the objects we have to deal with; yet of how much importance are they to the herald and the genealogist—how many *lacunæ* do they serve to fill up in the page of history.

ST. THOMAS. The church of St. Thomas is to be looked upon as the oldest parochial sanctuary of Salisbury. However early the date of its erection, I fear but little of its original is now to be seen.¹ It is generally believed to have constituted a chapel of ease to the cathedral, and the date assigned to it is 1240, under the episcopacy of Richard Bingham. The architecture is therefore coeval with that of the cathedral, and it was dedicated to Thomas à Becket. Twenty years since, our associate the late rev. Edward Duke minutely examined this church, and he has given satisfactory evidence to shew that it was originally a building upon a much smaller extent than the present, that it consisted simply of a nave and a chancel; that there were neither side aisles nor chantries, neither clerestory nor tower. The additions made to, and the alterations effected in, the original building, may be found stated by Mr. Duke.² The tomb beneath the centre arch, usually ascribed to the duke of Buckingham beheaded at Salisbury in 1485, Mr. Duke thinks ought to be assigned to Robert Godmanstone, the presumed founder of a chantry built to the north of the chancel, and mentioned in the bishop's *Registry of Institutions*, in 1415. Mr. Harrod furnishes to us a paper decisive as to the invalidity of the claim for the duke of Buckingham.

The only portions of the church capable of being recognized as belonging to the original, we are told, consist of “the arch dividing the nave from the chancel, and so much of the walls of the nave and the chancel as is above the

¹ A good view of the interior is given in plate xxvii of Hall's *Memoirs*.

² In a note to the fourth essay of his *Prolusiones Historice*, p. 464.

summits of the arches, and beneath the line of the capitals, in the former, and the base of the windows in the latter."¹

ST. EDMUND'S. This was built, before 1270, by bishop Walter de la Wyle, and was collegiate for a provost and twelve secular canons. There are no remains left. It fell down in 1653, and has been entirely rebuilt.² The seal was in the possession of Richard Rawlinson, and is engraved in Leland's *Collectanea* (vol. vi, p. 283). De la Wyle was buried in the church, by the altar (1271). The site of the college was purchased by the Wyndhams in 1660, and is still in their possession.

Connected with this church are some singular proceedings in the Star Chamber, in the year 1632, against the re-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 472. It was in this church that, upon taking down the northern porch, in 1835, five small crucibles (one of which has been figured in Mr. Duke's *Profusiones Historice*, p. 473) were found in a niche, by the side of a fireplace, plastered over. Elias Ashmole and other alchemical adepts make reference to one whose initials are given as J. S.,—

“Nigh to the citie of Salisberie his dwelling is.”

The crucibles referred to are conjectured by Mr. Duke to have belonged to this individual, whom he describes as having, “in the vexation of spirit, and in the bitterness of disappointment, walled up his crucibles, folded his arms, and quietly and piously awaited the general doom of nature.” There is much probability in the suggestion offered by Mr. Duke; for Thomas Charnock, one of the celebrated alchemists,—a man who most zealously devoted himself to the vain pursuit, travelling all over England to aid researches; in which his enthusiasm was so great as to call down, and fix upon him, the appellation of “sublime madman”, by Antony à Wood, who records that Charnock “became known to Mr. James S., a spiritual man, living in the Close at Salisbury; who being a noted chymist, he entertained Charnock to be his operator.” This was in the middle of the sixteenth century. Charnock is further mentioned as having obtained the secret from his master, James S., who, it appears, died about 1554. He, however, lost this treasure by firing his *tabernacle*, on New Year's Day, at noon, A.D. 1555. Charnock died in 1581; and an extended account of him may be found in the *Athenæ Oxonienses* (ii, 658, ed. 1721). His poems are printed in the *Theatrum Chymicum Britannicum*, where, in reference to Salisbury, he writes:

“I could never finde no man but one
Which could teach me the secrets of our stone;
And that was a priest in the Close of Salisberie:
God rest his sowl in heaven full merrie.”

Again,—

“Master J. S., his name is truly;
Nigh to the citie of Salisburie his dwelling is,
A spiritual man forsooth he is.” (P. 176.)

J. S. is sometimes reversed, and made S. J. Again, he is referred to as sir James; and it must be recollected that graduated priests, in those days, had generally this honorary title applied to them. But Mr. Duke has gone further to enlighten us in this matter, and conceives that he has successfully demonstrated J. S. to be one James Bekinsau, or Beconsaw, vicar choral of the church of Salisbury in the reign of Edward VI.

² See plate xxv in Hall's *Memorials*.

corder of Salisbury, for the demolition of some painted glass; upon which Mr. Horman-Fisher will oblige us with further particulars.

ST. MARTIN'S. According to Leland, "a paroch chireh of St. Martine" stood on the site of an old barne, on the north side of the hospital of St. Nicholas. Ledwich contends that the church was always in its present situation. It consists of a nave, two aisles, a chancel, and a tower at the west end, having a spire. There are many points of interest to be viewed in this building; and the attention of our members will be directed to the font, piscina, etc. A grant, of the date of 1228, from bishop Poore, assigning the church to a priest of the name of Hervey, is said to be extant.¹

SALISBURY. In the examination of any ancient city in England, it is to Leland that antiquaries must resort. His *Itineraries* are invaluable. They have, as far as Wiltshire is concerned, been most judiciously printed in the *Wiltshire Magazine*, with the illustrative notes of the rev. canon Jackson. In Leland's time, Salisbury, or New Saresbyri, with its suburbs, occupied "two good miles in cumpace". The site of the town is designated as "playne and low, and as a pan or receyver of most parte of the water of Wyleshire": hence bishop Douglas has, in no very complimentary phraseology, said,—"Salisbury is the sink of the Plain, the Close the sink of Salisbury, the palace the sink of the Close." We shall soon have good reason to see that these terms are no longer descriptive or applicable, and that the judicious measures adopted for the sanitary improvement of the town have effectually relieved Salisbury from this stigma. The many streamlets that formerly were visible in all the streets have disappeared, and the picturesque effects produced by them dissipated. Health cannot be considered as too dearly purchased at the expense of the beautiful. The city, at this day, presents to us a very different aspect to what is noted down by that peculiarly quaint and eccentric observer, Samuel Pepys. When, in 1668, he paid a visit to Salisbury, on his road he entered the fortification of Old Sarum; which he found so prodigious as to fright him to be in it all alone at night, in the dark. Arrived here, however, without any

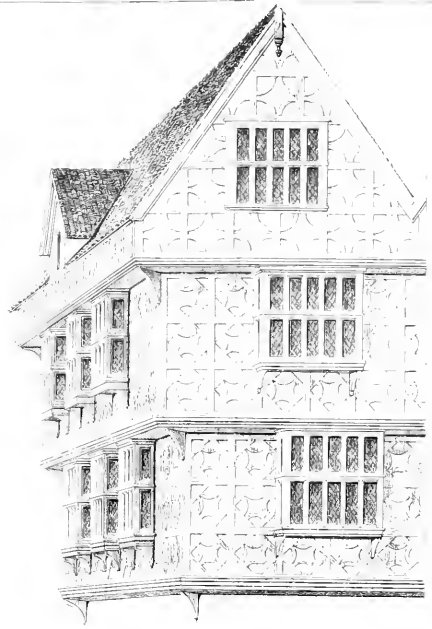
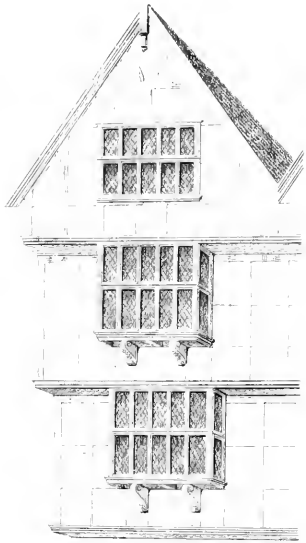
¹ A good representation of this church is given on plate III of Hall's *Memoirs*; and there is also a woodcut of the interesting Norman font belonging to the same.



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mischance, he took up his abode at the George Inn, where he lay in a silk bed, and had very good diet; for which, however, he had to pay rather heavily, and by which, he says, he was mad, and resolved to trouble the mistress about it, and get something for the poor. In that ill humour he came away; but had seen various parts of the city, which he designates a "brave" place; admiring the minster, the marketplace, the most large Close, and the fine palace for the bishop. The river, he says, went through every street.¹ He also visited Stonehenge, of the monuments of which, he says, he found them as prodigious as any tales he ever heard of them, and worth going the journey to see. God knows what their use was! he exclaims. They are hard to tell, but yet may be told.²

Some good specimens of domestic architecture are still to be found in Salisbury; but the greater part have disappeared, to suit the progress of society, and remedy the effects of time.³ It is to be lamented that the records left of these are but scanty; but their removal occurred when no spirit of archæology was abroad, and archæological societies could hardly be said to have existed. The labourers for posterity were few in number, and chary in the selection of their subjects. Our respected and venerable associate, Mr. J. Adey Repton, has kindly forwarded to me sketches of some ancient timber houses in Salisbury; and as faithful representations of the past, they are given on plate 1.

The old Council Chamber was a picturesque building, of wood,⁴ of the date of 1573. There was a former Guildhall, mentioned by Leland, thirty years anterior to this time, called *DOMUS CIVICA*, of which there is extant a woodcut.⁵

HALL OF JOHN HALL. To the researches of the late rev. Edward Duke, an associate of our body, we are indebted for particulars respecting the builder and possessor of one of the most interesting remains of domestic architecture in this country. It may, perhaps, be a question among some autho-

¹ "At the streates, in a maner, of New Saresbyri hath little streamelettes and arnes, derivyd out of Avon, that remnith through them."—Leland.

² Diary, vol. iv, p. 466. Third edition, 1848.

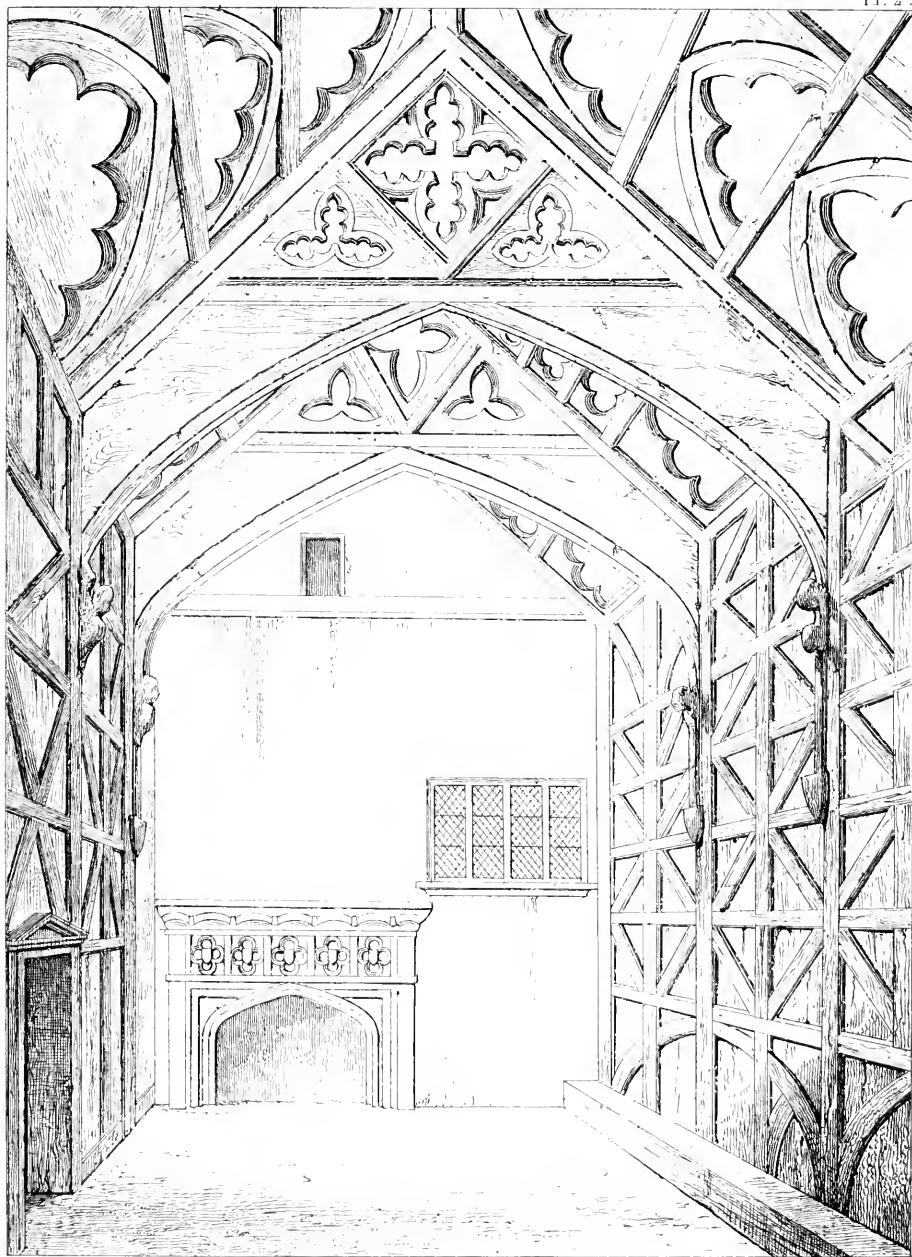
³ Representations of several of the ancient buildings, and examples of carving, are satisfactorily given in Hall's *Memorials of Salisbury*; and the reader is especially referred to those of the George Inn (plate xv) and its ancient doorway; to the Joiners' Hall, in St. Ann-street (pl. v); to the courtyard and work-house in Crane-street (pl. vii); and to an ancient house of the time of Henry VII.

⁴ See Peter Hall's *Memorials of Salisbury*, plate xxviii. ⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 26.

rities in this branch of art, whether Crosby Hall, visited by us in one of our City of London examinations (the greatest in point of size), or the Hall of John Halle, is to be most admired. It is not a little curious that both sir Thomas Crosby and John Halle should have been of the same calling,—both woolstaplers; and that they should have, in so signal a manner, displayed their regard for the beautiful in the domestic architecture which distinguishes their halls of banquet.

Among the objects to which our attention is directed, in the examination of the ancient remains of the city of Salisbury, will be found, on the site of the New Canal premises, (now in the occupation of Mr. Sampson Payne) a hall, or refectory, which, by the taste and spirit of its present proprietor, has been renovated with great judgment, and is now exhibited to us in its original size and proportions. We cannot fail to be delighted with the general effect produced in this building, and must be struck with the richly storied windows, the antique chimney-place, and the massive and elegant roof, framed either of oak or chestnut. A merchant's mark, impaled in a coat of arms, offered to the eye of the antiquary a clue by which he might ascertain the original owner of this building; and by unwearied exertions sustained by an enthusiasm delightful to contemplate, Mr. Duke has told us all we can desire to know—or, at least, now expect to learn—concerning the habits of its builder. These will be found fully detailed in Mr. Duke's *Prolusiones Historicæ*, to which I refer the reader. We are even gratified with a portrait of the renowned merchant; whose costume will, I am sure, excite the admiration of our honorary secretary, Mr. Planché, and give rise to one of those graphic illustrations with which he is wont to afford interest to our annual congresses. The building belongs to the reign of Edward IV. On the wall, the late Mr. Pugin will be found to have painted a crowned angel,—one of those rapid productions for which this artist was celebrated; having been, as I am told, completed in one operation, and without even making a single descent from the elevation taken as necessary to its performance. It also records the date of the building, 1470, and its restoration in 1834.

By the kindness of Miss Wickens, whose zeal in antiquarian research in relation to Salisbury, has been most success-



F. Wickens del

J.R. Jobbins.

HALL IN MARKET PLACE, SALISBURY.

fully exerted, I am enabled to give an illustration of the domestic architecture by which the city was formerly distinguished. Plate 2 represents a hall discovered during the present year (1858), in the Market Place. It is of about the same period as the hall of John Halle, and will be viewed with peculiar interest as the only representation preserved of this ancient building. Miss Wickens, by whose pencil the memorial has been thus handed down to us, has obligingly acquainted me that it stood in the rear of an inn (the Maidenhead), which, with other buildings, was taken down to make room for the New Market House. It appears, for a length of time, to have been almost forgotten, or entirely overlooked; and so little value was attached to it, that it was found to have been divided by a flooring, so that the upper part could be used as the "soldiers' room", whilst the lower was appropriated to the purposes of a beer cellar. When Miss Wickens first saw it, the arch and fireplace were partly bricked up, and had sustained considerable damage. The floor of the upper room had been removed, and the fine timber roof thereby had become exposed. The west end, which Miss Wickens supposes to have been the entrance, was taken down, and the entire building was altogether in a very dangerous state. The windows by the side of the fireplace appeared to be coeval with the building, with mouldings similar to the beams of the roof.

There formerly stood a cross a short distance from the spot, and the place is still called the Cheese Cross; and it is therefore not unreasonably conjectured that this hall may have been the place of meeting for a guild belonging to the Cheesemongers' Company; but of this I can discover no satisfactory evidence.¹

In the excavations making for sewers in Salisbury, many interesting antiquities were met with, and will be obligingly exhibited to us by Mr. Brodie. Some of these have been laid before the Society of Antiquaries, and notes in relation to them are to be found from the pen of Mr. Akerman in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxxvi, p. 71), accompanied by appropriate illustrations of some of the missile weapons. There are others, however, equally deserving of being figured.

¹ The roof of the hall is in good preservation, and now in possession of the authorities of St. Edmund's parish, for the purpose of forming a roof to a new school. Some good specimens of carving, Mr. Swayne tells me, were obtained from the Maidenhead inn, and disposed of to Mr. Popham of Littlecote.

I have thus particularized the chief objects of the immediate locality we have selected for this year's examination, but there are others of which I have only time to make mention. The inspection of these several places will offer to us abundant opportunity of giving due attention to their histories and peculiarities. At Lake House we shall have the gratification of inspecting the collection of antiquities formed from the locality by the late rev. Edward Duke. The mansion itself is interesting, and its history may be traced as part of the possessions of the guild of Carscombe or Crascombe, in the county of Somerset. This fraternity, dissolved in the reign of Edward VI, fell to the crown, and the manor was ultimately disposed of, in 1578, to George Duke, ancestor of its present respected proprietor, for the sum of one thousand marks. The tumuli in its vicinity are numerous.

At Clarendon we shall visit a spot where formerly existed a royal forest, in which English monarchs freely disported. A palace, of which but little now remains,¹ was here built, traditionally referred to the time of king John, but its date is uncertain. In the reign of Henry II it was of importance, and courts and councils were therein held. It was from this place that issued what are known as the Constitutions of Clarendon, limiting the bounds of ecclesiastical authority, and asserting the supremacy of civil jurisdiction. The opposition offered to these by Thomas à Becket is well known to all readers of English history, but his spirit was compelled to submit, and he at length affixed his signature to the deed. But this act was not to be final, for, obtaining absolution for it from the pope, he renewed his opposition to the king, an opposition which led to his death, so variously descanted upon by different writers, and of which our own published transactions offer a variety of opinion and many delineations. It was in the reign of Henry III that Clarendon was in the "zenith of its glory." The Pipe Rolls of this time give abundant information in regard to its enlargement and splendour. It was disafforested in the reign of Edward II, and afterwards designated as a park. Edward III, together with his royal prisoners the kings of France and Scotland, passed the summer months at this palace during

¹ Camden records that, in his day, there were walls of flint and strong cement, probably of the Saxon time, to be seen.

the severe visitation of the plague in the metropolis. Edward VI granted it to William Herbert, first earl of Pembroke, for his life and that of his son. It subsequently passed by Charles II to Monk, duke of Albemarle, and thence to the Earl of Bath, of whose heirs it was purchased by Benjamin Bathurst, esq., whence it has descended to its present proprietor, sir Frederick Hervey H. Bathurst, bart., by whose kindness we view it on this occasion.

A survey of the manor and forest of Clarendon, made in the time of Edward I, has been printed by sir Thomas Phillipps, bart., in the twenty-fifth vol. of the *Archæologia*, from which we learn many interesting particulars. The rooms were all on the ground floor, and the palace was only one story high. It was roofed with *shingles*, which sir T. Phillipps conjectures to be a corruption of shindles, *scindule* from *scindo*, thin tiles of wood serving for roofing. There were two kitchens, one for the king, the other for the family. “Coquina domini regis indiget cooperturâ”; “Coquina familie est in bono statu.” The palace was supplied with water through the agency of a water wheel. “Rota putei indiget reparacione.” The king and queen had separate chapels. “Camera et capella dñi regis sunt in bono statu.” “Gutiræ capellæ dominæ reginæ cum celura et picturâ ejusdem indigent reparacione et emendacione.” *Pictura* must here apply to some representation on the walls, so commonly depicted in chapels in the thirteenth century. The chambers had names appropriated to them; thus mention is made of those belonging to Neville, Mansel, and John the falconer. Sir Thomas Phillipps obtained permission to dig on the site to discover the plan of the palace, in 1821, and he found portions of painted glass of considerable thickness, Norman tiles, and fragments of painted stucco, probably, however, of a later time than Edward I.

WILTON is too well known to need little more than mention by me in this brief survey. We have a delightful day marked out for us in relation to this locality, under the kind permission of its estimable owner, whose attachment to literary and antiquarian pursuits is well known, whilst his taste for ecclesiastical architecture will be exhibited to us in the examination of the church, which by his munificence has been erected.

The first charter of incorporation of Wilton is of the time

of Henry I ; the first one in force is of Henry VIII. The chartulary of the abbey of Wilton (Ellandune), which formed the site of Wilton house, is preserved at the British Museum, in the collection of the Harleian MSS. This chartulary embraces copies of the original Saxon grants to the monastery.¹ Of the *Chronicon Villadunense*, preserved in the Cottonian collection, Faustina B. 3, Leland has given us an abridgement in his *Collectanea*, iii, 219. The author is unknown ; it is in English rhyme, and consists of two thousand five hundred lines. The foundation of the abbey is therein given :—

“ This religiouse house was foundyd ther,
The threttynthe yer of his rennyng ;
And nythe hundryd and threttyn zer
After that Jhu of Mary did sprunge.”

Wulstan, earl or duke of Wiltshire, in A.D. 773, repaired an old church at Wilton, which was dedicated to St. Mary. It suffered greatly by the ravages of the Danes. Wulstan substituted for it a college or chantry of secular priests, which afterwards (A.D. 800) was converted into a nunnery by his relict, St. Alburga, sister to king Egbert, for twelve religious virgins besides the prioress. The king has thus been mentioned as the founder. Upon the defeat of the Danes by Alfred, in 871, he was, upon the persuasion of his wife, induced to build a new nunnery on the site of the royal palace, not far from this spot, and he attracted thither nuns from St. Mary, who, together with the abbess and twelve others belonging to this establishment, formed a house dedicated to St. Mary and St. Bartholomew, and consisted of a company of twenty-six religious persons, of whom Radegund was the first abbess. Edith, a natural daughter of king Edgar, was a nun or abbess, and afterwards patron saint of the abbey. A presentation of a nun to this monastery upon every coronation constituted a royal prerogative appertaining to this abbey. It was surrendered Mar. 25, 1539, 30th Henry VIII, and the site was granted to sir W. Herbert, afterwards created earl of Pembroke, in 35th Henry VIII. Two impressions of the ancient seal are extant, and the late Mr. Douce gave an account of it in the

¹ For particulars relating to the monastery, consult Hoare's *Wills*, in the Hundred of Branch and Dole, vol. iii, pp. 77-116.

18th vol. of the *Archæologia*. He regarded it as the earliest monastic seal published. The legend reads SIGILL EADGYDE REGALIS ADELPHIE,—*Sigillum Eadgithæ Regalis Adelphæ*, the latter word meaning nun or sister.

Leland's statement¹ in regard to the number (twelve) of churches at Wilton has been questioned. Mr. Offor² removes all imputation of inaccuracy, and gives the names of them, having traced their existence from the registry of the diocese. They consist of—1. The conventual church of St. Edith. 2. The church of St. Mary, Brede-street. 3. The church of St. Michael, South-street. 4. The church of the Holy Trinity (site unknown, but the last presentation to made in 1465 by the prior of St. Denys, Southampton). 5. The church of St. Nicholas, West-street. 6. The church of St. Nicholas in Atrio. 7. The church of St. Mary, West-street. 8. The rectory of Ditchampton, called also church of St. Andrew. 9. The vicarage of Bulbridge, dedicated to St. Peter. 10. The chapelry of Netherhampton, dedicated to St. Catherine. 11. The church of St. Michael, in Kingsbury. 12. The church of St. Edward. In addition to these, there were also ecclesiastical establishments, consisting of—1. The priory or hospital of St. John. 2. The house of black friars. 3. The hospital of St. Giles.

The church of GREAT DURNFORD is every way worthy of examination, and its decorations have by some been regarded as belonging to Saxon times. The church consists of simply one aisle and a chancel, with a semicircular arch between them. The font will command attention.³

The historical associations connected with WARDOUR CASTLE, which we visit by the kind permission of the Lord Arundell, will be refreshing to all who can view with interest the progress of events during a most disturbed period of our history, when civil commotions and rebellion were rife, and the dark spots only occasionally relieved by examples of noble and heroic conduct. The glorious resolution and unswerving fidelity of the lady Blanche Arundel, daughter of the earl of Worcester, in the defence of this castle when

¹ "The hedde toun of Wileshir," and had "12 chirches or more."

² In Hoare's *Wilts*, vol. iii; see also Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ii, 315.

³ The chancel is 26 feet in length, and 16½ feet wide. The nave is 52 feet, 5 inches long, and 23 feet 1 inch in width. The church is built of stone and flint, and has an embattled turret. The north and south doorways, together with the chancel arch and the font, are engraved in Hoare's *Wilts*, vol. iv.

besieged, in the reign of Charles I, during the absence of her husband, by the parliamentary army, commanded by sir Edward Hungerford, offers a remarkable instance, not to be effaced from one's memory. I trust we shall be able to inspect the interesting documents connected with this spirit-stirring event in the annals of English history.

“O history, what precious food is thine!

How rich thou art with treasures manifold!

On what flower'd meadows do thy footsteps shine!

What gorgeous heavens are thine, of blue and gold!

What feelings, memories, thoughts,—what ecstasies untold!

Old times and legends thou dost consecrate;

Hates, loves, great deeds, battles, and victory:

With thee old patriots, bards, and heroes mate,

And all who for their country bow'd to die,

Or stood in cruel fire to serve the God on high.”

(Ord's *England*, p. 5.)

ON THE PEDIGREE OF PATRICK FITZ-WALTER, FIRST EARL OF SALISBURY.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., ROUGE CROIX, HON. SEC.

So thick a mist envelopes the origin of our Anglo-Norman nobility, that any attempt to pierce it is attended with more labour, and less satisfactory results, than probably any other subject of antiquarian inquiry; but the healthful direction which the study of antiquity has taken since the birth of this Association, the many valuable genealogical works that have been published abroad and at home during the last half century, and the labours of a few earnest, acute, and conscientious antiquaries, have enabled us to correct some of the serious errors into which even such writers as Dugdale had fallen; and I am still sanguine enough to believe that the time is not far distant when the general darkness will be dispersed, and a flood of light poured upon those extraordinary ramifications which at present, but dimly discovered, only bewilder and mislead us.

The first earls of Wiltshire, or Salisbury, are amongst the

most mysterious of these noble enigmas. My task on this occasion is, as usual, more to warn you of what you should not take for granted, than to afford you much new information; to point out to you the few facts upon record, and leave you to draw from them your own deductions.

The first earl of Wiltshire, after the Conquest, is popularly supposed to have been Osmund bishop of Sarum. In my paper on the earls of Somerset, I explained to you the character of an earldom in the days of our Anglo-Norman sovereigns, and stated that, although Camden had quoted a manuscript life of the bishop, to shew that he was called earl of Dorset, I had not been able to discover any satisfactory evidence to corroborate that assertion, the authority for which is at least questionable; and that in all contemporaneous records he is simply styled "Osmund the bishop". That he was an earl, or rather a count, in his own right, is very probable; for he was the son of Henry, count of Seez, by Isabella, daughter of Robert duke of Normandy, and half-sister of the Conqueror. He was, therefore, a nephew of the Norman king of England; and his connexion with the county of Seez may not have terminated with his assumption of the mitre.

The first earl of Salisbury, or Wiltshire, as he is indifferently styled, of whose dignity we can have no doubt, was Patrick, son of Walter of Salisbury; so created, it is said, by the empress Maud, and so styled in the *Liber Niger*, in 1165. It is with the origin of this family I have specially to deal; and my views are so opposed to those of very high authority, that I lay them before you with considerable trepidation; but as I shall give you chapter and verse for my "historic doubts", I shall at any rate enable you to judge for yourselves, and so far escape the charge of misleading you. The only ancient history we possess of the family of Patrick earl of Salisbury is contained in a monastic chronicle known by the name of *The Book of Lacock Abbey*. When I say we possess, I must take care to inform you that we possess but comparatively modern transcripts of it: for the original manuscript, after passing through the hands of Stow into those of sir Robert Cotton, was contained in one of the volumes of that noble library at the British Museum, and unfortunately was "wholly destroyed" in the fatal fire which deprived us of so many literary treasures. Portions of it

relating to the genealogy of the earls of Salisbury had been copied by Vincent, and exist in the library of the College of Arms; and another, a fuller copy, is to be found in the Harleian Coll., Brit. Mus., marked 5,019. Dugdale and Brooke printed inaccurate extracts from these copies; and a more careful version of the whole has been published by the late rev. W. L. Bowles, canon of Salisbury, in his *Annals and Antiquities of Lacock Abbey* (8vo., London, 1835). In that work Mr. Bowles was associated with Mr. J. Gough Nichols; and that gentleman enjoyed the great advantage of the assistance of the late Mr. Stapleton, who has done so much for the elucidation of Anglo-Norman genealogy. I need scarcely say, therefore, that the volume contains a mass of valuable information; but from the peculiarity of its arrangement, it is most perplexing to the reader, who, after being excited by the romantic enthusiasm of the amiable poet in the body of the work, is gravely disenchanted by the *Illustrations* of Mr. Nichols; who, in turn, is further illustrated and corrected by himself, upon the information of Mr. Stapleton. At the Congress of the Archæological Institute, held in this city in 1849, Mr. Nichols recapitulated, with some condensation, the information and opinions contained in that volume; and as I am probably addressing many of his hearers, I am bound to shew how, and wherefore, I have the misfortune to differ from him.

The Book of Lacock sets forth that there was a valiant Norman soldier, Walter le Ewrus, count of Rosmar, to whom William the Conqueror, in consideration of his worth or his services,¹ gave the whole of Salisbury and Ambresbury; and that before this Walter le Ewrus came into England, he had become the father of Gerold earl of Rosmar, *Mantelec*,² who was the father of William de Rosmar, *le Gros*, who was the father of the second William de Rosmar, *le Meschin*, who was the father of William, the third de Rosmar, who died without issue. Afterwards Walter le Ewrus had a son named Edward, born in England, and subsequently sheriff of Wilts; who had a wife, by whom he had a daughter named Matilda, whom Humphrey de Bohun afterwards married, and a son named Walter de Salisbury. This Walter de Salisbury took

¹ "Propter probitatem suam."

² Mr. Bowles suggests that this appellation was derived from his peculiar "mantelet" or cloak. It may be as well to observe that "mantellata" signified born out of wedlock. Vide Ducange *in voce*.

a wife named Sibilla de Cadureis, by whom he was the father of Patrick first earl of Salisbury.

We will stop here for the present, and recall to you that Mr. Bowles has pointed out the corruption of *le Ewrus* into *de Eurus*, and from that into *Devreux*; giving rise to the statement to be found in many of the old *Peerages*, that from this Walter d'Evereux (asserted by some to be a younger son of Robert count d'Evereux, archbishop of Rouen), the family of Devereux of Carigmenan was lineally descended; and, from a younger brother of Edward of Salisbury, the Devereux, viscounts of Hereford, and others of our nobility. Instead of Devereux, therefore, Mr. Bowles first proposes to read "*le Heureux*", or "*the fortunate*", as *eureux* was the ancient orthography of *heureux*;¹ but in another chapter, on the ground of an ancient coffin lid having been found at Tynemouth, with the inscription, "*Walterus Cellarius*", he considers we should be justified in rendering "*Ewrus*", "*of the ewry*" or cellar, etc. But, alas! his ingenuity avails him nothing; for Mr. Nichols relentlessly asserts that the said Walter *le Ewrus*, earl of Rosmar, is altogether an invention. The name of Walter, he contends, was fabricated from that of his grandson, Walter of Sarisbury; and if Edward was really a brother of Gerold of Roumara, there is reason to believe that their father's name was also Gerold, and that he was the same with Gerold the father of Ralph de Tankerville, the ancestor of the hereditary chamberlains of Normandy.² This opinion, which is, in fact, that of Mr. Stapleton, is founded on a charter³ setting forth that a knight named Gerold gives to the abbey of St. Arnaud, at Rouen, the church of Roumare, for the sake of his own soul and that of his wife Albreda, with the assent of his son Robert, and the attestation of Ralph, brother of Gerold.

Now, that there is any identity between this Ralph, the brother of Gerold, and Ralph de Tankerville, who had a father named Gerold, is pure assumption, based upon the mere appearance of the name of Edward of Salisbury as a benefactor to the church of St. George de Bocheville, founded by the latter Ralph; and what little evidence we have is distinctly against such relationship. Gerold, the donor of

¹ "*Eur., Eureux, look heur, heureux.*"—Cotgrave.

² Essay on the Earldom of Salisbury, 1819.

³ Printed in Pommeraye's *Histoire de l'Abbaye de St. Arnaud de Rouen*, fol., 1662.

the church of Roumare, styles himself, both in his charter just quoted, and in another later one,¹ simply a Christian knight or soldier; whereas the other Gerold signs himself, "Gerold the Dapifer", a title of great honour, and one which no person would uniformly have omitted, more particularly in the presence of his sovereign ("in presentia Wilhelmi regis Anglorum"). The names of Gerold, Robert, and Ralph, are much too common at this period to give any support to an otherwise unproved assertion. The confusion is increased by Mr. Nichols confounding *Robert* Fitz-Gerold, the tenant, in *Domesday*, with *Roger* Fitz-Gerold of Roumare, the reputed husband of Lucy Taillebois; and whom he himself has set down in the *Topographer and Genealogist* (vol. i, p. 18) as a brother of that Robert, "*who continued the line*"! "The difference", he remarks in another place,² "is so small between Rotbertus and Rotgerus, that it cannot destroy the identity of persons when supported by strong circumstantial evidence of tenure and descent." I admit that the names of Robert and Roger have been often confounded by careless chroniclers or genealogists; but I do not see the strong circumstantial evidence which would in this case prove the identity, against the facts of the separate existence of a Robert and a Roger Fitz-Gerald, signing themselves, clearly and distinctly, Rotbertus and Rogerus; and if he be convinced of the identity, why does he himself divide them?

I shall, however, have enough to do to disentangle the skein which most nearly concerns us, without meddling with the line of the Romaras, earls of Lincoln; and therefore must carefully avoid touching on that equally involved subject further than is absolutely necessary to my present purpose, which is simply to shew you that although no record of such a person as Walter le Ewrus has yet been discovered, we have not yet obtained such evidence as would authorize us flatly to deny the statement of the family historian, that the father of Edward of Salisbury was at least named Walter. The facts are exceedingly few that we can adduce respecting Edward; but none of them positively contradict *The Book of Lacock*. We find him first in *Domesday*, as vice-comes, or sheriff of the county of Wilts, and in possession of thirty-eight manors in this county, besides many others in those of

¹ Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. ii, 997.

² *Annals and Antiquities of Lacock Abbey*, p. 65, note.

Somerset, Berks, Hants, Dorset, Surrey, Middlesex, Hertford, Buckingham, and, it may be, Bedford. If it be the same Edward who holds certain property in the latter county, we are told by the same authority that his father held it in the time of king Edward the Confessor. There is no name. The words are simply, "the father of Edward";¹ but though they do not confirm, neither do they contradict, *The Book of Lacock*.

The invaluable record of *Domesday* was compiled between the years 1082 and 1085. Edward's father was of course dead, or Edward could not have been seized of the property. The Lacock book says William gave his father, Walter le Ewrus, all Sarisberie and Ambresbury, *i.e.*, Salisbury and Amesbury. In 1085 we find the son in possession of Amesbury, and nearly forty other manors in the county of Salisbury alone. As for the name of Devereux, so happily accounted for by the mistake of De Eurus for Le Ewrus, the error (if error it be) is older than Dugdale; and I may just remark *en passant*, that Leland, in his *Itinerary*, as early as the reign of Henry VIII, says, speaking of Wiltshire, "I read that one Gualterus was the first earl after the conquest of it." How often have we to deplore the provoking habit of our ancient writers, of omitting to give the authorities on which their statements were founded! Where did Leland read of "one Gualterus"? Was it in *The Book of Lacock*? or was there some other record of a Walter, who, though not in our sense Walter earl of Salisbury, might yet have been count Walter of Salisbury—"comes Gualterus de Sarisberie"? Mr. Nichols says "the name has been fabricated from that of his grandson, Walter of Sarisbury"; but surely no man ought to know better than Mr. Nichols, that the elder son was, in those days, much more frequently named after his grandfather (either paternal or maternal) than after his father; and that probability is strongly in favour of Walter having been the name of Edward's father, as he bestowed it on his son. Patrick, the eldest son of Walter, was evidently named after his maternal grandfather, Patrick de Chaworth; and William, the son of Patrick, after his maternal grandfather, William Talvas. If Edward's father had been named Gerold, as Mr. Stapleton conjectured, it is all but certain that we should have found the name

¹ "Edwardi pater."—*Wills*, 74; *Bedford*, 218.

repeated in some subsequent generation, instead of those of Walter in four, and William in two instances.

Having denied the existence altogether of Walter le Ewrus, it is next suggested that there must have been at least two, and probably three, Edwards of Salisbury! Starting upon the erroneous inference that *The Book of Lacock* states that Edward the sheriff was born in England "after the Conquest",¹ Mr. Nichols proceeds to say: "In the adoption of the proposition which I have before advanced, that there was a second Edward, he would be a native of England, and to him the lingering tradition of the nunnery of Lacock would properly belong. It is almost forty years after the period of *Domesday Book* and of the charters I have cited," he continues, "when we meet again with the name of Edward of Sarisbury; and as he there occurs as an active warrior, that circumstance strengthens the presumption that we have, in his person, the representative of another generation." Then, after quoting Ordericus, to shew that Edward bore the royal standard at the battle of Brennule, in 1119, he adds, in a note, that there was an Edward of Salisbury, apparently of the third generation, living in the reign of Henry I; and to him he considers an entry in the Pipe Roll of the 31st of that monarch (1131) to apply.

Now, in the first place, *The Book of Lacock* does not assert that Edward was born "after the Conquest"; but only that he was born in England, and subsequent to his brother Gerold. The "antequam" and "postquam" refer, not to the battle of Hastings, but to the coming of Walter into England; which, like so many other Normans, he may have done during the reign of Edward the Confessor,—indeed, must have done, if the "pater Edwardi" of *Domesday* refers to him.² The gift of all Sarum and Ambresbury was of course after the Conquest, and in reward of services probably then rendered; but many of the large estates in this and other

¹ Essay on the Earldom of Salisbury, p. 214.

² In *Domesday* I find that a great proportion of the estates of Edward of Salisbury were held by Aluuard, or Eluuard, in the time of king Edward the Confessor; and in a confirmation charter of Henry II he is mentioned as having held land in the city of Sarum: "Et totam terram quam Alewardus et Godus tenuerunt in burgo Sâr et Wilton ut carta regis Henrici Avi mei testantur." (*Registrum Rubrum*, No. 19, Bishops' Records, Salisbury.) I take this Aluuard to have been the maternal grandfather of Edward. Edward is a Saxon name; and I think it most probable that the sheriff of Wilts was by a Saxon mother, and only half-brother to Gerold of Roumare.

counties, which we find in possession of his son at the time of the Survey, I take to have been added to his paternal inheritance by one or more fortunate marriages; for it will, I am sure, be interesting to the fairer portion of my audience to learn that our Norman ancestors were specially addicted to matrimony, and that we are only beginning to discover the practical proof they afforded to the world of that very laudable inclination. Some fortunate individuals, Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, for instance, rejoiced in as many as five wives,—in due succession, be it understood. It is true he does not appear to have kept them long, but he married them as fast as he could, and so far set an admirable example to all widowers and bachelors of his acquaintance. Nor were the ladies less inclined to connubial felicity. I shall shortly have to prove to you that a countess of Salisbury had the misfortune to bury four husbands. But I am anticipating,—and, what is worse, digressing. My object at present is only to prove to you that, granting Edward of Salisbury to have been of full age, married, and sheriff of the county, in 1085, when *Domesday* was compiled; supposing, let us say, that he was five-and-twenty at that period, he would have been only fifty-nine at the battle of Brennule,—by no means too old for an active warrior,¹—and but seventy-one at the time of his death, placing that event at the latest possible period previous to the remarriage of his widow in 1131. Where, may I ask, are the grounds for contesting, on the score of age, that there must have been three, or even two, Edwards of Salisbury? The most extraordinary feature in this case is that, in no charter either of Edward himself, or of any of his family, or in any official record concerning him, do we find the name of his father, his mother, or his wife; for though Mr. Nichols has said the name of the latter was Leonia, he can only have assumed that from Edward's having a daughter so named; and when we consider the immense possessions of Edward, his great and acknowledged reputation as a soldier, and his evident importance during the first three reigns after the Conquest, the utter absence of any clue to his parentage and connec-

¹ We have numerous instances, both in ancient and modern times, of warriors of much greater age doing active service in the field. One of the Gifford family is stated to have fought at the siege of Bedford Castle when he was a hundred years old. Need I, at the present moment, name lord Clyde?



tions is truly remarkable. He is spoken of by Ordericus as a warrior whose prowess is a matter of notoriety; a person, not to know whom argues oneself unknown. In war he bears the royal standard;¹ in peace he witnesses the royal charters. “Signum Edwardi de Salesbiria” occurs at the foot of the confirmation charter of William the Conqueror to Selby Abbey, immediately after that of the bishop of Bayeux. To the charter of queen Matilda to the abbey of Malmesbury, in 1081, is appended “S. Edwardi, vice-comitis.” “S. E. vice-comes” attests the Conqueror’s charter to the priory of Lewes, about the same date; and I find “E. vice-comes” one of the two witnesses to the same monarch’s confirmation charter to Newark. Mr. Stapleton found his name to a charter to the abbey of Savigny, in 1112; and also in the chartulary of St. George de Bocherville, a document to which I shall have to recur. But the first light that glimmers on his domestic history proceeds from an entry in the Pipe Roll of the 31st of Henry I (A.D. 1131) already alluded to. It is therein stated that, in that year, William de Hoc-tona rendered an account in the Exchequer, of £200, for the wife of Edward of Sarum, with the land, to the use of Pagan his son; and Paganus de Hoc-tona, the son aforesaid, rendered an account of two hundred marks of silver, and two marks of gold, for the wife of Edward of Sarum; for I regret to add to my previous observations respecting the inclination to matrimony of our Anglo-Norman predecessors, that, in those days, there was a royal road to the temple of Hymen, by which a wealthy widow or heiress could be speedily led or driven, as the case might be,—provided always the said road were paved with as much gold as the sovereign required. No sooner was a great landholder deposited in the tomb of his ancestors, than his widow, and, if under age, his heir and all his worldly goods, were taken into the fatherly care of the king. The widow either paid a good round sum that she might not be compelled to marry against her inclinations, or she was given to one of his majesty’s favourites, or sold to the highest bidder. The bidder in the instance before us was William de Hoc-tona, who purchased the lady for his son Pagan; her estates following

¹ “Edwardus de Salisburia ibi portavit vexillum fortis agonista cujus robur erat probatione notissimum et constantia perseverans usque ad exitium.”—Ord. Vitalis.

as a matter of course, though we will not for a moment insinuate that they were considered in making the bargain.

William de Hoctona, I find by two charters to Ramsey, "was chamberlain to king Henry I";¹ and therefore had, no doubt, influence enough to circumvent any other competitor. By this fair relict of Edward, whose name, most provokingly, is not mentioned, Pagan de Hocton had an only daughter and heir, named Matilda,—perhaps after Pagan's mother, as a certain Robert Grimbald, who appears to have been the husband of the younger Matilda, grants all the land that William de Hocton had in Dunnington, co. Lincoln, Matilda (William's widow) giving her consent.

Edward himself had, however, a daughter named Matilda, married to Humphrey de Bohun,² the son of him with the beard, who came over with the Conqueror. This marriage, we are told by the *Chronicle of Lanthony Abbey*, was made at the instance of William Rufus; and with this Matilda, her father gave to the said Humphrey in free marriage, all his lands and tenements "which were of *his own acquisition*, and all the other lands and tenements *which were of the inheritance of the said Edward remained to his son and heir Walter of Salisbury*." I call your attention particularly to this passage in the *Chronicle of Lanthony*, because it bears out so clearly the statement of the *Book of Lacock*, that Amesbury and Salisbury were given to Edward's father; and being, of course, not his own acquisition, they are not amongst the manors given with his daughter Matilda. It also appears to me to confirm the conjecture that Edward had two wives; for we have seen that Pagan de Hocton had the land as well as the hand of his widow, and we shall now find that his other daughter, Leonia, carried with her a fair estate to Robert de Stutteville, her husband, which was evidently the inheritance of *her* mother; who is expressly stated, in an official document, to have been of the family of Roger de Reynes, or de Ramis, a great *Domesday* holder in Essex,

¹ "Habeat abbas de Ramesie Wenebodesham cum pertinentiis et terram quas Gul. de Hoctona *camerarius meus* tenuit." (Ex Cart. Hen. primi.) "Tenebat abbas de Ramesey monaster in pace manerium de Bradweth sicut Gul. Camerarius de Hoctona coram Henrico Avo meo illud eis reddidit." (Ex Cart. H. secundi. Dugdale, *Monast. Ang.*, vol. i, p. 338-9.) It is therefore necessary to observe that the signature of "G. or W. Camerarius", temp. Henry I, may not always be that of William, the "chamberlain of Tancarville."

² Who, by the way, calls her Mabel.

and so named after Rennes in Brittany, whence, no doubt, he came.

In a roll of the 31st of Henry II (A.D. 1185) we are told that the wife of Robert de Stutteville is in the gift of the king; and that on her father's side she was the issue of Edward of Salisbury; and on her mother's, of the progeny of Roger de Reimes. (*Rot. de Dominabus*, etc., edit. by Stacey Grimaldi; 4to., Lond., 1830, p. 38.) In a charter of the abbey of Welbeck, we find Henry de Stutteville confirming the charter of his mother, Leonia de Reynes; and in the chartulary of St. George de Bocherville, before mentioned, the gift of Edward of Salisbury to the monks, of certain serfs and their rents, is confirmed by a second charter of Robert de Stutteville, at the request of Leonia his wife; and the property is stated to be "in hospitibus de Ramis". Other documents also prove that the lands held by the Stottevilles through this alliance were "in the fee of Reimes".¹ That Leonia was Edward's daughter is still more convincingly proved by the latest record we have yet met with respecting him; and it contains also an assertion, at the same time the most explicit and the most perplexing. In the *Placitorum Abbreviatio* (p. 41) it is stated that the incumbent of Guneby is dead, and that Robert de Bretteville claims the advowson, against the abbot of Osulveston. The jurors say that Graelent de Tancy presented the last person; and a knight asserts that William Grimbald has the right, as he is grandson, and nearest heir to Aluard;² but Robert de Bretteville answers that he has not the right, as Edward of Salisbury, who was the elder brother of the said Graelent, had a daughter named Leonia, whom Robert de Stutteville married; and who impleaded the same Graelent in king Henry's court, and recovered from him the land of Guneby, which he gave to the said Robert (de Bretteville), half the land being for his service, and half in marriage.

This startling assertion, that Edward of Salisbury was the elder brother of Graelent de Tancy, is endeavoured to be explained by Mr. Nichols, who suggests that it probably means

¹ Philip Augustus, in 1218, gives to Henri d'Estotuville the lands of Rames, which belonged to his mother. (La Roque, *Geneal.*, etc., *la Maison de Harcourt*, tom. iv, p. 2178.

² Surely the Aluard we find holding so many manors afterwards possessed by Edward of Salisbury. The name of Vluuine, another of his predecessors, occurs in the return of holders in Gunnebi, *Domesd.*, b. 369.

that Edward's *wife* was the *elder sister* of Graclent;¹ but the words, "qui frater primogenitus fuit", will surely not bear such an interpretation. If true, which we can scarcely doubt, he must have been the son, by a former marriage, of the mother of Graclent; but we have still to discover *that* Graclent, for it cannot be the one who died in 1180 (26th Henry II), the son of Hasculf and Matilda de Tany, benefactors to Bermondsey.² The name, spelt indifferently Graclent and Grahaldus, is so peculiar that it must, I think, lead to a discovery; and my impression is, we shall find the father of that Hasculf to have borne, as usual, the appellation given to his grandson. A Robert de Tani is a witness with Edward of Salisbury to the Conqueror's charter to Selby, and might have been the step-father of the sheriff. Still the names of Edward's wife and mother do not transpire. Vincent, in a pedigree in the College of Arms, has inserted the name of Matilda as that of the wife of Edward, but without any reference to an authority. Probability points to such having been the name of his second wife, the mother of Matilda de Bohun, and grandmother of Matilda de Hoeton. Leonia may have been that of the first wife, the daughter of Roger de Remis; but I repeat, that we have no evidence yet to produce in substantiation of either conjecture.³

I fear I have detained you an unconscionable time—and to many it may appear to very little purpose—in the examination of this first portion of my subject; but there is so much confusion to clear away, so much miscalculation to correct, that I could not, in fairness to those from whom I am compelled to differ, abbreviate my quotations or my arguments more than I have done. I shall now rapidly run over the two next steps of the pedigree. Of Walter of Salis-

¹ Annals of Lacock Abbey, p. 56. note.

² "Ego Matildis uxor Asculfi et filius meus Grahaldus dedimus monachis de Bermonds ecclesiam de Fyfhede." "Ego Graalandus de Tañ anuente Mathilde uxore meæ et Hasculfo filio meo confirmo monachis de Bermonds ecclesiam de Fyfhede quam Mathildis mater mea me presente et anuente dedit," etc. —Glover's Collect., College of Arms.

³ It is worth remarking that the foundation charter of the abbey of Fontenai (A.D. 1070) is attested by *Roger Fitz-Gerold*, in company with *Walter*, uncle of William the Conqueror, and *Matilda* his daughter. "Matilda filie Galterii avunculi Willielmi regis Anglorum," etc. She married Ralph Taisson, second of that name. A Matilda "filie Geroldi", a sister, as I take it, of Roger and Robert, occurs in a charter of Robert Fitz-Waleran, earl of Mellent; and in the same document we find that Robert Fitz-Gerold had a son named Ralph, who was a leper. Mention is also made of "Geroldus puella".

bury, the founder of Bradenstock, we are happily in possession of more authentic information. His marriage with Sibilla de Chaworth is undisputed. He signed a charter of king Henry I, in 1131, as Walter de Saresberie;¹ and another of king Stephen's, in 1136. Founded the priory of Bradenstock in 1142; and, after the death of his wife, assumed the tonsure and habit of a canon in that establishment, wherein he died, and was buried, leaving issue Patrick, son and heir, and, according to some authorities, a daughter named Havoise;² who is said to have married, first, Rotrou count of Perche; and secondly (1141), Robert comte de Dreux, and died before 1152. He is also said to have had two other sons, Walter and William, both canons of Bradenstock.

Through the kindness of the lord bishop of Salisbury, I have the pleasure to lay before my readers a charter of Walter of Salisbury, contained in the book known as the *Register of St. Osmund*, and which has hitherto escaped notice.³ By this most interesting document we learn that his son Patrick was made earl during his father's lifetime; so that the date of such creation will lead us more accurately to that of the death of Walter, which is at present unknown. This charter also proves the existence of a son named William, with the additional curious fact of his having done some injury to the church of Salisbury.⁴

¹ Bishop's *Records*. Dodsworth's *Antiquities*.

² The authors of *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, say, in one place, that she was the eldest daughter of Edward of Salisbury, and granddaughter of Walter d'Evreux. She was the second wife of Rotrou, as his first, Matilda, perished in the *Blanche Nef*, 25th of November 1120.

³ "Walterus de Sarr' omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Sciant tam presentes quam posteri quod ego Walterus Edwardi vicecomitis filius et Sibilia uxor mea et heres noster comes Patricius, dedimus Deo et sancte Marie et Sarr' ecclesie et Joscel. ejusdem ecclesie episcopo in perpetuam possessionem manerium nostrum de Torinton et omnia que eidem manerio pertinent liberum et quietum sicut nos illud nunquam liberius et quietius tenuimus. Hanc donationem et elemosinam fecimus, et super principale altare Sarr' ecclesie obtulimus pro animabus nostris et omnium parentum nostrorum et nominatim pro anima Willelmi filii nostri fratris comitis Patricii in restauramentum dampnorum que preminatus filius noster Willelmus Sarr' ecclesie fecerat. Et ut rata in perpetuum sit ista donatio: eam et carta nostra et nostro roboravimus sigillo. Valet. Hujus rei testes sunt: Rogerus Capellanus comitis Patricii Osm. et Ric. clerici, Walerannus, Rog. fil. Galfridi, Elyas fil. Rad., Walkel. fil. Rad., Jord. et Milo de Pantes', Gil. Vavassor, Alex. de Chenevel, Phil. Pincerna, Ric. Tunica, Geroldus de Riparia, Warinus Prepositus, Will. Malecunensis, Ernald. de Duplenc', Haraldus Prepositus, Benedictus de Wilton."

⁴ In Dodsworth's *Antiquities of Salisbury* there is the professed translation of the charter of Henry I, before mentioned, and preserved in the *Bishop's*

PATRICK FITZ-WALTER was, as I have already stated, the first earl of Salisbury, being so created by the empress Maud in reward of his services during her struggle with Stephen; and was slain, 27th of March, 1168, by Guy de Lusignan, on his return from a pilgrimage to St. James of Gallicia. He was twice married; all we know as yet of his first wife being the constantly recurring name of Matilda, which we have on his own authority, from his charter to Bradenstock, in which he calls her "Matilda the countess, my wife." His second wife, and apparently the mother of all the issue that survived him, was Ela, daughter of William Talvas, count de Ponthieu, and widow, in 1147, of William de Warren, earl of Surrey. A charter of Isabella, countess of Warren, daughter of Ela by her first husband, contains an injunction to pray for the health of the souls of William, Patrick, and Philip, her brothers. William was the eldest son, and succeeded as earl of Salisbury; Patrick and Philip were monks in Bradenstock. Earl William's confirmation charter is witnessed by his brother Walter;¹ but no Walter is named by Isabella de Warren. Walter could not have been son of the countess Matilda, or he would, as the eldest son, have succeeded to the earldom; and Patrick appears to have died in the father's lifetime, as in William's charter to Kaneford, as well as in his confirmation charter to Bradenstock, he names his brother Patrick in conjunction with his father.

A more important point to clear up in the pedigree is the fate of Philip, as it would go a long way towards settling the vexed question of the name of d'Evereux. The d'Evereux of Carigmenan (co. of Wexford) assert that they are lineally descended from this Philip; who is said to have quitted the monastic habit, and sought his fortune in Ireland,

Records, in which is the following passage: "Know ye that I have conceded to the church two hides, which Walter the son of Edward held at Warminster; and one hide, which *Hervey, son of the same Walter*, held at Rotefen." The words of the original, however, are, "which Hervey held of the same Walter",—"et una hyda qua *Herveyus de eod' Waltō tenuit*." No mention of son. And by another passage in the same charter we find he was called "*Herveio de Wylt*," i.e. Wilton. A Gerold de Wilton holds in *Domesday*. A Walter de Wilton, and others of that family, occur in charters and records of that period; a Benedict de Wilton witnesses the charter of Walter de Sarum just quoted. We find also a Gilbert de Sarum (charter of Henry II), a Roger de Sarum, canon of Salisbury, and an Ing'r (Ingler, or Inglerano) de Sarum, or de Saresberie. (Confirmation Charter of Stephen, 1135-1141.) A Hugo de Salisbury is found at issue with an "Edwardum Beivinum" in the Fine Roll of the 10th of Richard I for Devonshire.

¹ "Phillipus et Walterus fratres mei."

embarking at Milford in 1203; and having, by his hardihood and enterprise, acquired great possessions, mostly in the county of Wexford, he married Alice, daughter to sir Alexander de Headon, from whom the pedigree is regularly brought down to James Edward d'Evereux, esq., who claimed, at the coronation of George IV, to carry the golden rod and dove, as the heir of William d'Evereux, earl of Salisbury. The claim was disallowed; but the question is by no means settled. Dr. Watson, in his *History of the Earls of Warren*, says, in a note (vol. i, p. 137), "these monks (Patrick and Philip) are said to have been slain at this priory"; but he does not tell us who has said it, and we have therefore no more proof of his assertion than we have of that of the d'Evereux of Wexford, who say that Patrick (who also quitted the church) was killed in Aquitaine, and that Philip went to Ireland. If the latter fact can be proved,—and why should it not?—the descent of the name of d'Evereux in that family, from the thirteenth century, would be an awkward answer to those who would account for it by the corruption of "le Eurus" as late as the seventeenth century.

I have a great deal more to say on this subject than I can now venture to enter upon, having yet to deal with by no means the least interesting personage in the pedigree—the only daughter of the last earls of this family, the foundress of Laycock, and the wife of Longuespée.

There may be many, even at a Wiltshire Congress, who have not heard the romantic story of how Ela, the sole daughter and heiress of William Fitz-Patrick, was left an orphan in her infancy; how she was spirited away by her relatives, and concealed in Normandy; how a gallant knight and troubadour, yeelped William Talbot, sought her for two years in the disguise of a pilgrim; and then, in the garb of a glee-man (*homo jocosus*), penetrating into the court where she was detained, contrived to carry her off, and present her to Richard the lion-hearted, king of England; and lastly, how the said Richard bestowed her, still in childhood, with the earldom of Salisbury, on the son of the fair Rosamond, whose warlike effigy still frowns in stone beneath the vaulted roof of your gorgeous cathedral. But, alas! there are many more who *have* heard; and by whom the graceful and vivid language of canon Bowles is too well remembered for me to attempt a repetition of the narration. They will also remem-

ber in how pitiless a manner the whole romantic story is torn to fragments by the poet's antiquarian friends, and the greater portion scattered to the winds by a storm of archæology. Where is he who would attempt to emulate the celebrated quack doctor who made a perfect cure of the man who had the misfortune to be blown to atoms by the explosion of a powder mill! the first dose of whose miraculous medicine reunited the scattered particles of the patient, the second restoring them to animation, and the third sending him home to his wife and family in better health than he had ever enjoyed since his childhood! Don't be alarmed! I am not going to try the experiment. I shall confine myself to the collection simply of a few of the scattered particles, with the hope of finding that a little animation still exists in them, and that there may be more truth in "the lingering tradition of Lacock" than its critics have been willing to admit. The story, though romantic, is not improbable; and already one of those who were the first to contest its accuracy, has generously furnished evidence in corroboration of one fact, that of Ela being an only daughter.

Two sisters had been set up by Brooke in his *Catalogue*, and Clutterbuck in his *History of Hertfordshire*, and set down again by Mr. Gough Nichols, who produced two others in their place, upon certainly better evidence; but Mr. Stapleton discovered that they were only of the half-blood on the mother's side, and Ela was once more triumphantly restored as the only daughter of her father.¹ In the process of that discovery it appeared that Alianor de Vitré, the mother of Ela, had been twice married before she became the wife of William Fitz-Patrick earl of Salisbury; and that after his death, in 1196, she entered, for the fourth time, the holy state of matrimony; was again a widow in 1216, and actually survived, without taking, or being compelled to take, a fifth husband, to the year of our Lord 1233. Now *The Book of Lacock* tells us that Ela was born at Amesbury in 1188, of Norman parents; that her father, from failing age, departed to Christ in 1196, her mother having died two years

¹ It is singular that, although these facts were established by Mr. Stapleton in his *Observations on the Norman Rolls of the Exchequer*, in 1845, Mr. Gough Nichols should have repeated the statement of Juliana and Johanna being daughters of the earl of Salisbury, in 1849, without any reference to the correction. They were both daughters of Alianor de Vitré by Gilbert de Tillieres, her second husband, of whom she was the widow in 1190.

previously. Of course, if Alianor de Vitré *was* her mother, the facts are against this very circumstantial account. Alianor de Vitré was not of Normandy, but of Brittany; and could not have married the earl of Salisbury before the death of Gilbert de Tillieres, her second husband, in 1190; and we know she long survived both the earl and another husband. But how if she were *not* her mother? The only evidence that she was so, appears to be the name of “De Viteri” occurring in the extracts from *The Book of Lacock*; and a mandate of the 17th of John (A.D. 1216), by which the constable of Oxford is ordered to permit Alianor, countess of Salisbury, mother of *Isabella*, countess of Salisbury (a mistake, it is supposed, for Ela), to hold in peace her manors of Gatesden, Eggerwere, and Wotton. The wording of this mandate is, as you perceive, not the most accurate; but admitting Ela to be the younger countess of Salisbury alluded to,—for it could not well be any one else,—the word “*matrem*” would, in those days, have been used for step-mother as readily as for mother, and would not have been used at all but to distinguish one countess of Salisbury from the other. Strictly speaking, Alianor de Vitré was not at that time even countess *dowager* of Salisbury. She was, in 1216, the newly made widow of her fourth husband, Gilbert de Malmaines; and as Ela was *the* countess in her own right, it was a stretch of courtesy to call Alianor countess of *Salisbury*.¹

Next, as regards *The Book of Lacock*. I have already warned you that the original is not in existence. We cannot verify transcripts. We cannot ascertain, by careful examination of the writing, the various dates of its compilation, or the extent of the alterations and interpolations which have been made in it. The last passage in the Harleian copy proved that a portion of it was written as late as the reign of Edward II, or even Edward III, as it alludes to the “queen Isabella now living” (she died in 1357); while the words “*que data est domino Gulielmo Longespe*”, in the earlier portion, would indicate contemporaneous writing. The story of Ela’s concealment by her relatives, and her dis-

¹ In other records the title is qualified by “*quondam*”. In fact, so strictly was the title respected, that Ela’s own son, the second William Longuespée, was not permitted by king Henry to assume it, as his mother, the countess in her own right, was still living.

covery by William Talbot, was undoubtedly added at a later period,—apparently after her death, which occurred in 1261. But surely, even then the fact of the countess Alianor having lived till 1233 could scarcely have been ignored by a family historian. Yet he distinctly asserts that Ela's mother (no mention of Alianor, observe) died two years before her father; and that her body reposes with that of the earl her husband, under the same marble, “juxta vestibulum”, at Bradenstock. Now Alianor de Vitré died in Normandy; and was buried, by her own desire, in the abbey of Mondaye, near Bayeux, with her daughter Julianna. But the priory of Bradenstock was then in existence; and the tomb, we must suppose also, to corroborate or refute the chronicler, who could scarcely have erred from ignorance, and had no visible advantage to gain by the invention, at any rate, of this part of the story. It is also remarkable that no mention of, or allusion to, Alianor de Vitré occurs in any deed or charter yet discovered of Ela Longuespée. In that to Hinton she names her father, her husband, and her children; in her charter to Lacock, only her husband and her eldest son; and in her grant of Bentley Wood to the hospital of St. Nicholas, dated in 1227, two years after the death of her husband, she couples the souls of her father and her mother, as if both parents were at that date deceased (“et pro animabus patris et matris mee.”—Chartulary of St. Nich.). And somehow or other a notion appears to have crept into the heads of our earlier genealogists, that the mother of Ela was a daughter of Tirell de Mainers. Dugdale has, “Alianor de Vitré, daughter of Tirell de Mainers”, either confounding two different personages, or misled, as it has been supposed, by Ralph Brook. William Fitz-Patrick succeeded his father in 1167, and could not, as we have shewn, have married Alianor de Vitré before 1190. Is it probable he would have remained single twenty-three years after he was in possession of the estates and title of earl of Salisbury? To his charter to Kaneford, he admits as a witness, “Waltero filio meo”.¹ Who was *his* mother? Mr. Gough Nichols supposes him to have been an illegitimate son, from the circumstance of the name occurring very low down in a long list of witnesses; but his long experience in the examination of charters should, I think, have warned him that

¹ Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.*



no such inference must necessarily be drawn from that fact. It is just as likely that Walter was legitimate, and died before his father. The date of the death of Ela's mother, according to the story, would be 1194; and the earl being left with only an infant daughter, might then have married Alianor de Vitré in hope of an heir male, and died, as stated, in 1196; not literally from failing age,¹ but failing constitution. Mr. Bowles, who has proved that a William Talbot actually existed in the service of William Longuespée, imagined the concealment of the child to result from the anxiety of the mother. If my suspicion be well founded, two causes might be assigned with equal probability for such a precaution. The jealousy of a step-mother who saw that child stand between her and the wealth and power which, had William died without issue, might have been still enjoyed by the countess of Salisbury; or the prudence of Ela's blood relations, who might either have mistrusted the guardianship of so interested a person, or desired to obtain for themselves the valuable advantage of disposing of the hand of their young and noble kinswoman, which, by the existing law of England, was in the king's gift.

Supposing the story to be true, simply as far as the abstraction of the child, who were the relations that carried her off, and concealed her in Normandy? Can there have been any connexion between this incident and the return to a secular life of her uncle Philip? The genealogist of the Carigmenan d'Evereux says that, "quitting the frock for the camp, Patrick went to seek his fortune in Aquitaine, where he was killed; and that Philip thus having seen the whole property of his family go out of his house" (by the gift of Ela to William Longuespée), "went to seek other fortunes in Ireland," etc. Who would have been more interested than the uncle of Ela, and the next heir to the earldom, had she died unmarried or issueless? And if, as Watson says, both Patrick and Philip were slain at the priory, what were they slain for? Attempting to defraud the king of his right? We perceive the use he made of it immediately she was in his power. He bestowed the infant countess on his half-brother, and made a wealthy earl of the landless

¹ The son of Ela of Ponthieu by Patrick earl of Salisbury, he could not have been more than forty-seven in 1196; William earl of Warren, Ela's first husband, dying in 1147.

and illegitimate Longuespée; while Alianor de Vitré took for her fourth husband a simple knight; and, though retaining the barren title of countess, was bereft of all its state and influence.

The family name of the second wife may have been interpolated by a continuator of the *Lacock chronicle*, or a confusion created by the common Christian name of Alianor. Nay, it is not absolutely impossible that there may have been two Alianors de Vitré, as a daughter of Tirell de Mainers (of whose progeny we as yet know nothing) might have been previously married to one of the family of De Vitré, of whom we have much yet to learn.¹

I have no desire to indulge in speculation; but until I have satisfactory proof that a consistent narrative is erroneous, I linger lovingly over a family tradition hallowed by the belief of ages, and which, as in the present instance, contains nothing of the marvellous to startle our judgment, or of pretension calculated to pander to the pride of the descendants. I will therefore hint a third probability. The nameless mother of Walter and Ela might have been a Norman beauty of humble birth, the bride of William's youth, the choice of a first affection. The "nut-brown maid" is not the only heroine of such a romance of reality. In which case her Christian name may have been Isabella, which the countess Ela gave to her eldest daughter; and the fact of there having actually been an Isabella countess of Salisbury might more readily explain the clerical blunder in the mandate of John. It is worthy of notice that not one of Ela's four daughters was named Alianor; and that *The Book of Lacock* states that Petronella, who died unmarried, was buried at Bradenstock, under a marble stone, at the right hand of the tomb of her grandmother, "juxta latus *avie sue* dextrum ibidem sepulta sub lapide marmoreo." Not "her grandmother, *the countess Alianor*", as added by Mr. Nichols.²

We have seen the accuracy of *The Book of Lacock* already acknowledged on some previously disputed points of great importance; and we have but negative evidence in contra-

¹ William de Wanda, the precentor, and afterwards dean, of Sarum, in his account of the foundation of the new church, 1220, speaks of "the countess Alai de Vitri"; confounding, it is supposed, the daughter with her mother,—a singular mistake for a contemporary, and an executor of the earl's will.

² *Lacock*, p. 160.

diction of others. Let me hope that Wiltshire antiquaries will assist me in my endeavours to vindicate the character of a Wiltshire record of so much interest and antiquity; and that the present company will pardon me if, in my anxiety to be perspicuous, I have trespassed too largely on the patience of a general audience.

ON SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

BY C. E. DAVIS, ESQ., F.S.A.

ON the 20th of April 1220, in the reign of Henry III, in the midst of this beautiful meadow, were assembled king Henry III, his court, and all the greatest dignitaries of the land, its beauty and its chivalry; and amidst the acclamations of multitudes (for so we read it), the corner stones of this most sacred edifice were planted, under the care of Richard Poore, bishop of Sarum. Great, indeed, was the veneration shown by all as this building gradually raised itself from the ground; and general was the anxiety displayed that this cathedral should surpass any previously erected. The enthusiasm that possessed our ancient builders, I am proud to say, continues to animate the breasts of those of the present generation; for, though we look with pride upon this, our most truly English cathedral, we have the greater satisfaction when we can point to the existence of the same feelings in the promoters and patrons of our modern churches, and to the architects who can carry them out as we see in the gorgeous parish church in this neighbourhood.

Although I have had the honour of conducting this Association over several of our most beautiful cathedrals, I must, on the present occasion, request your kindest indulgence, as I feel greatly my inability to describe the glorious building before us; for a residence of months would prove insufficient to discover all its beauties, and daily fresh objects of interest might be discovered, and new beauties be described. Unfortunately my time has been so brief that I must beg your forbearance should I omit to point out any striking and par-

ticular beauty, inviting you at the same time to express any difference of opinion you may form from that which my experience has led me to adopt.

The beauty of this building is more especially remarkable on the exterior; for the object of its builders was evidently to command the utmost respect from those who might not be inclined to pursue a study of its merits other than from a distance: indeed, if we consider the circumstances under which it was erected here, we shall at once see the probability of this assertion; for the removal from old Sarum could not but irritate the holders of that fortress, where sarcastic remarks would, in all probability, be vented on a building erected by the ecclesiastics who had deserted them, unless, indeed, as in this case, the new cathedral should really be unexceptionable for beauty and design.

I have selected this point (the north-eastern corner of the cathedral) as the spot from which I should wish you, first of all, to examine in detail its beauties; as here you have, at one view, the building commenced by bishop Poore, which was continued without interruption by the three succeeding prelates during a period of thirty-eight years, embracing the whole work we now view, with the exception of the spire and other minor details, which I shall mostly enumerate.

I am sure you will think with me that there can scarcely be a more worthy ambition than that exercised by bishop Poore in his attempt to erect a pile, so few, I fear, could conceive; and although his dearest desire—which must have been to complete his work—was denied him, still we may say of this building, what we can say of no other cathedral commenced in England prior to the Reformation, that it has been generally carried out under one plan. I say generally, because I hope to point out to you how, in the course of the erection, deviations were made from the original conception.

Last year I had the honour of taking you over Ely, a building probably the most charming in Europe; but perhaps the greater part of its glory is the result, not specially of its beauty as a whole, but from its presenting exquisite specimens of our various styles, commencing with the ages of obscurity, carrying down the visitor step by step to the latest period of the Perpendicular. Unlike Ely, we have at Salisbury a building that may be said to be of one era; for although the spire is of a later period, still so much of the

general and original feeling is caught, that, for theoretical purposes, we may say that the spire of a later date has only by aspiring tendency caught a higher inspiration than that given to its commencement, to fit it for its more elevated and heaven-pointing purpose.

The thirty-eight years during which this cathedral was erected, mark a period of our history peculiarly interesting to the architect; for from this resting place in the progress of styles branched out, as from a tree, those that developed themselves into the Decorated and Perpendicular, springing all from this Early English style, which may with justice be called the youth or "spring season of architecture".

The time occupied in building Salisbury cathedral was singularly short,—in fact, with all our modern appliances, we could not materially reduce it. Great efforts must have been made in its erection; and, I cannot but think, somewhat indiscreetly, for with greater care the settlement which unfortunately throws this most beautiful of all spires out of the perpendicular would not have taken place.

Upon examining the mouldings in the interior a careful student would at once discover that the capitals have never been adjusted to their columns with sufficient care to carry out the design in its integrity; and I cannot help thinking that the exterior as we now see it—beautiful, inexpressibly beautiful as it is—is yet not so glorious as originally designed; for much, I feel, has been marred and curtailed,—indeed, I am sure the plan, even for the sake of speed, has been materially reduced. The plan, at present, consists briefly of a double cross, or a nave, choir, presbytery, and two transepts.

The nave is of ten bays, the western transepts four,—at the junction with which is the spire; the choir of three, the eastern transepts three; and the presbytery, if I may call it so, of three. Now I cannot help thinking—and my views are strongly borne out on examination of the interior—that, although never otherwise built, it was originally intended to have made the presbytery of five bays instead of three; in fact, of the same length as the aisles, or possibly to have built the eastern end as an apse.

The aisle, although occupying eastward nearly the length I imagine the presbytery might possibly have done, is not in construction like the three more western bays, but by its

buttresses and piers adapts itself to the vaulting of the Lady chapel on either side. This vaulting, from its form, does not require so great an amount of counterpoise as is distributed on the other buttresses, they are therefore slightly less in plan; but that buttress marking the termination of the presbytery should, from the thrust required upon the eastern wall, be much larger even than those of the western bays, which it scarcely exceeds in plan. This surely would not have been the case had the matter been carefully considered, as most certainly was the general design. The consequence of this thrust not being satisfactorily arranged, was a settlement of the eastern end (which appears to have alarmed those to whom the care of the cathedral was committed) at a date subsequent to the building of the spire,—probably during the bishopric of Metford, whose monument is in the south aisle of the choir, or perhaps twenty years earlier. At this time they removed the coping and cross to the gable, together with the angular pinnacles, replacing the whole in harmony with the older portion, but employing a late decorated style common to the age; the only marked difference perceptible, perhaps, is the increased ornamentation, and the height of the pinnacles, so built to throw the thrust of the three eastern arches in a more perpendicular direction. In addition to this reparation, the pinnacles, or rather the turrets on which they stand, were propped by flying buttresses spanning the side aisles, but springing from the buttress of the aisle I before spoke of.

It is difficult for me to suggest (supposing my idea of the original design to have been carried out) what would probably have been the form of the Lady chapel, which may be built precisely as first intended, although certainly now more westward,—at any rate, whatever may have been proposed to have been done. I am not competent to conceive a more beautiful construction of lines than the group of gables with the lancet-windows running so high into the roof, varied only by the width of the wall space. The three eastern gables originally formed the termination of the three roofs which butted against the main east gable, through which there were two arches communicating with the arcade on a line with the triforium, giving this (the interior looking east) a distant prospect of the triplet windows in the gables, or at all events an effect of light which would be most brilliant.

It is much to be regretted that the spectator is unable to obtain a view of the east end, except at a point almost too close to embrace the whole of the elevation at one glance, as the beauty of the pyramidical form is here almost successfully achieved in the lines of the composition, without even the addition of the spire.

It is in this elevation that the refinement of the Early English style is carried out to its culminating point; for though we have all the simplicity of the great western façade, we have none of its crudeness; and have, in every particular, no moulding without a purpose, and no enrichment without a cause. The simple lower windows, which, in some parts of the cathedral, are perhaps gauntly large from a want of the later tracery, are here so beautifully proportioned and so admirably disposed, that the critical eye seeks in vain for a suggestion to improve this most exquisite façade, which is certainly without an equal in the country: and even feels it a matter of doubt whether the again filling the six tabernacles in the gables with the displaced statues would materially assist this carefully-designed masterpiece.

Proceeding farther westward, I wish to draw your attention to the north-eastern transept, which, in the main particular, corresponds with that to the south: and together, both in size and boldness, is kept in subjection to the principal transepts. Each transept has an eastern aisle, which is most advantageous to the composition of its end elevation, not only marking it at once as a transept, but giving a certain amount of breadth which without the addition it would want, and with which, with a "pendant" on the western side, it would be overwhelmed. The entire elevation is of four stories: the upper, a triplet window, starting from a string-course on a level with the base of the gable. This window is beautifully designed, and may be said to be, perhaps, as far as it goes (taking into consideration the unambitious character of the design), as perfect a gem as anything in this not to be surpassed building. Beneath, enclosed in an arch, taking the form of the groining of the interior, are four windows, which, although superior to the six beneath, shew perhaps as little merit as do those above display the utmost care. The lowest story of all is filled by windows to correspond with the windows of the aisles, except that they are larger and far more enriched. On the north-west angle is

a staircase turret, which is most unusual, as not being specially marked out: but corresponds, as far as practicable, with the opposite angle, both being well buttressed, and covered with octagonal pinnacles, which, although plain, are of most capital form, although they are certainly inferior to the pinnacles on the lower angle of the transept aisle, which is beautifully arcaded, and terminated by an exquisite finial very similar to those on bishop Bridport's tomb; to which, indeed, all the finials in this transept bear a striking resemblance. There is a pinnacle like this at the east end of Hereford cathedral; and this again has been reproduced, I think, in modern times at Ely.

Three bays west of the transept bring the building to the tower, from which spring, north and south, the principal transept of four bays, with eastern aisles, as in the other transepts.

The more western we proceed, the grander and more massive all the members of the design become. This transept, although wider than the last described, and of the same height, appears, from the well-balanced and carefully adjusted materials, to be not lower than the other, as you might, without seeing it, justly imagine; but, on the contrary, a greater height is given, from the more frequent use of perpendicular lines, as no opportunity is lost of carrying them from the ground to the summit. Like the eastern transept, it is of four stories; the second story being precisely similar in detail, with the addition of the buttresses which separate each window, these giving, to what is poverty in one case, a very varied play of light and shade in this. But the upper story of all is to be most commended; for it would seem that the elegance and the simplicity of the eastern transept it was determined to vary in this: for the elegance given to the one, from the preponderance of the lancet form, it was resolved to abandon by making that form quite subordinate to the circular and quatrefoil.

At the north-east angle is a late decorated buttress, which may, perhaps, be said to be good in form: but this quality, I fear, is merely the reflection or repetition of the earlier form of pinnacles I have before spoken of, employing the harsh and wiry details of a newer style. The pinnacles at the north-east angle of the main portion of the transept, are an elegant specimen, and quite in character with the greater

portion of the cathedral, although the details, at a distance, appear to be somewhat later. It has certainly an octangular finial not seen elsewhere, if I except that crowning the summit of the staircase turret at the opposite angle, which is very properly made a distinct feature of this portion of the design.

Proceeding further westward, we get a grand prospect of the nave, transepts, galilee, and spire. Last year, at Ely, I instanced Salisbury and Wells as the two most perfect gallees in the kingdom; not forgetting to point out to you the beauties of that of Ely, which, great as they are, are far outdone by this little specimen: for whether we examine every minute detail, the interior, or the exquisite outline of the exterior, nothing can be found to offend,—in fact, everything contributes to render this, in all particulars, a really and truly poetical (if I may use the term) example of what we could most desire for the wide-opening gates of our church.

Here I would first beg to draw your attention to the spire,—a portion of the fabric that has been the constant source of care, and, I may say, trial, from almost its very foundation; and which has engrossed the attention of the learned in architecture from the middle ages down to the present day, and is alike the admiration of the antiquary and the pride of all Englishmen; for let me say that, in visiting the finest buildings in Europe, you must go far indeed before you see so great a masterpiece of skill as that now before you. It is, in the present day, the fashion to admire the cathedrals of the Continent,—and there is much to admire in them,—but nowhere (and I say nowhere with great confidence) will you find anything to compare with this, either in form or purity of detail. The spire, although most necessary to the *coup d'œil* of the cathedral, is not in any way the original design; but I cannot but feel persuaded that a spire must have been contemplated,—at the same time that it is very possible its erection other than in timber was not proposed.

The spire and tower, within a short distance of the ridge of the roof, are said to have been built by bishop Wyvill, between the years 1329 and 1375; and as it is in the very best period of the decorated style, when the roundings and bold recessing of the mouldings had not disappeared, or were in part supplied by the sharp and harsh lines of shadows

(shewing the transition of the later style), I should say that the erection may very probably have taken place even thirty years earlier than the first named date. The octagonal portion is varied by a series of ornaments in bands; and the angles are enriched with the ball-flower ornament, that gives a slightly broken outline by its bending to the sky. This ornament (a peculiar type of the style) is carried throughout all the ornamentation of the tower, and adds much to the richness of the general effect. I need scarcely point out to you the very graceful way in which the junction of the octagon with the square is managed: so beautifully, indeed, is it arranged that I am sure the casual observer of this building can scarcely understand that the clustering of the angular pinnacles and buttresses, so exquisitely beautiful in themselves, are erected to hide what would otherwise be the most objectionable form.

Between this and the apex of the roof the two stories are covered by clustering pinnacles, windows, buttresses, and tracery,—the absolute wall decorations so beautifully designed that it is difficult at first to ascertain what is constructively necessary, and what mere ornamentation. The lower portion of the tower is of a piece with the earlier part of the cathedral, that is as far as the crenellated battlement, which was originally free from the beautiful flying buttresses, whose ambition, it seems, is to be considered part and parcel of the spire itself.

These buttresses, I conceive, might be made the subject of a most interesting history; for in them we have not only a history of the progressive and increasing abilities of our forefathers, but also the history of the continual subsidence of the spire, which I am able in part to assert has long since ceased. I will give you a short epitome of the history I read from the erection of these buttresses, which I will continue in the interior of the cathedral.

Shortly after the building of the spire, the columns that support the four internal arches must have given way; it therefore became necessary to throw a portion of the support, if possible, upon four other additional points. To effect this, four simple flying buttresses were thrown into the internal angles. These, I am inclined to think, were at first, for practical purposes, almost wholly similar; but not having the desired effect, were shortly (omitting the north-



eastern) still farther strengthened by the erection of a strut starting from the flying buttresses, butting against the octagonal turrets, and capped by pinnacles. Still these did not seem to avail; and after another period, longer than the first, it became necessary to erect the other flying buttresses which spring in a direct line from the lower buttresses against the side walls of the nave, of choir, and transepts. In the south side especially the buttresses were erected of enormous strength, giving an exceeding beauty to the building from the Palace gardens. When these last buttresses were erected, the spire took a direction, in its settlement, towards the south, although, in the first case, I should gather, from the precautions taken, the piers had generally given way; but these buttresses having been so completely built to the eastern aisle of the south transept (it offering greater capabilities than that afforded on the opposite side, where there was no aisle), the settlement, therefore, instead of being entirely south, was thrown slightly to the west; when it became necessary to still farther strengthen the south-western corner, where a most elegant and aspiring flying buttress was built, uniting most beautifully with the tower; and preparations were made also in the angle by strengthening the turret, and building abutments to those flying buttresses from the upper parapet of nave and transept; but these were never carried into execution. I am therefore of opinion that at this time the buttresses I will describe to you in the interior, and the stopping up of windows, were completed; and that this, with the last angular buttress, was found to have entirely stopped the settlement; and therefore the erection of these contemplated flying buttresses was thought unnecessary, as their building might probably overweigh an already much loaded corner. This work, I am led to fancy, from the style and the exceeding cleverness of the design, was executed by bishop Beauchamp, between the years 1450 and 1481, as he was a skilful architect, and master of the works at St. George's Chapel at Windsor. Since this time I do not think there can have been any material settlement, as I will presently more fully explain when in the interior.

The western front, taken in detail, is as well worthy of study as any portion of the cathedral; but I think even the most enthusiastic archæologist will agree with me that this façade displays little design, and, with one or two excep-

tions, very little well-arranged grouping; the portals being most especially excepted, although they might be most materially improved, had they been of greater consequence, forming a prominent feature rather than taking the subordinate position they now do. This front is built as a screen, and not, as is most usual, adopting as its own the outline of the nave and aisles. The arrangement now before us is an importation from Germany, where it is most usual; but in foreign examples we generally find that the main building gives, in the first place, greater height than at Salisbury, so as to counteract the dwarfing effect of an increased width.

This screen-form of front is most appropriate to situations such as we have here, as I imagine at no time were there facilities for viewing this façade at a distance sufficiently great to bring in, as part of the composition, the projections of the transepts. It was therefore necessary to throw all the power into the entrance front itself, without dependence on any extraneous assistance. The western front of Ely, of an earlier date, in its integrity was in this manner. Malmesbury and Wells are examples; the latter, although possessing large western towers, is very similar to this cathedral; but the ornamentation is better and bolder.

The gable in the centre is the making of the whole front, as it connects the two wings most cleverly, which otherwise would want that unity which is so essential. The central lights we have admired in almost all the other gables; but we must reserve no mean praise for this one, for strongly as it resembles those in the principal transepts, it yet shews a greater amount of novelty in its treatment. Those windows and wall enrichments are the result, perhaps, of a combination of the designs of the two transepts, employing the circular and lancet form together, which in the transepts are apart.

Beneath this story is the triplet or west window of the nave, having above a quatrefoil enrichment, continued right and left through each wing, but at a lesser elevation,—a very unfortunate element in the design, as it gives, not an appearance of height to the centre, which it was probably intended to convey, but, at first view, an effect that the sinking of the wings would cause, and which is only remedied by all the other horizontal lines being continued un-

broken throughout the whole façade. Beneath this window is a series of most exquisite tabernacles, pretty boldly recessed; the canopies being also supported by detached columns. These tabernacles are the type of all others which enrich the entire lower stories and the faces of the buttresses, and which, were they fitted, as they originally were, with statues, must have almost effectually obliterated all the harsh lines of the design.

The centre portal of these arches, with a baldequin over each, the centre division being again divided by two doors, is a charming piece of composition, although not as originally designed, as the side arches were at first equilateral; but, during the progress of the work, segmental arches were introduced beneath, probably for the purpose of introducing two more statues, the tabernacles to receive which are still existing.

Right and left of this elevation are two staircase turrets entirely covered with arcading, terminating with pinnacles that scarcely assist the general design; for I think their omission would greatly add to the beauty of this façade, especially if the curtain wall were reduced in height, omitting the upper arcade,—which certainly appears to have been first intended from the appearance of the tracery,—substituting the corbelling and parapet which enrich the whole structure.

The cloister, with the Chapter House, are in a later style of Early English than the greater portion of the cathedral; and as I believe there is no record of its building, the only means of ascertaining its date is by its style. I should therefore say it was built prior to the spire, and in all probability at the latter part of the reign of Henry III, at which time the cathedral was commenced. The cloister is bold, and the tracery that fills each bay is one step in advance of the decorated proportions in the cathedral; the tracery being in this case positive tracery, and not plate tracery as in the former. The apertures are filled by geometric forms; the proportions of materials and wood being as well balanced as in later examples, although adapted to much simpler forms. I do not think this cloister was intended to have been glazed; but as glass appears to have been partially inserted in the openings, it must have been put in at a much later date than the original building.

The Chapter House has been lately most carefully restored, and the iron ties which originally encumbered it removed, under the superintendence of Mr. Clutton.

THE INTERIOR.—In spite of all the destructive alterations that have been made from time to time in this venerable fabric, the main portion of the interior has resisted the fury of the fanatic, and the scarcely less ruthless restorer; and although in walking through it, we have much to regret in the irreparable injuries that have been done, and the frightful exhibitions of tasteless carpentry architecture, still a visit may be productive of much reflection, and innumerable lessons obtained.

The interior, although in itself containing the framework of the beautiful, still could never have been so grand as the exterior; but if you can imagine it with the walls and piers exhibiting strong contrasts of colour in the dark and polished Purbeck and the lighter freestone, the arches picked out with colours, the groining elaborately decorated, and the whole lighted by brilliantly painted windows with a preponderance of dark blue and ruby, together with a flood of white light shining through the lancet of the centre, I think we may be allowed a doubt whether Tintern or York could have been compared with it.

The size of the lower windows is adapted for the richest colouring; but when we reach the beautiful triplet clerestory windows within the groin of each bay, we could spare the extreme richness were the ceilings emblazoned in the gorgeous colourings of which some faint traces still are left to us. The depth of colour in the lower windows was their peculiar decoration; the form of the void, and the dimness produced by the colour of the glass, constituted the feature of the upper lights; but in the triforium nothing was to be depended upon save the foliation and arrangement of the columns and arches, relieved by the extreme blackness of the shadow as a background. The form of these arches is good, although the foliation of the enclosing arches is somewhat misfitted; and if a trifle in height could be added, there could be nothing for us to desire. The arches separating the nave from the aisles, of which there are ten on each side, are beautifully moulded, well relieved, and undercut; springing from cushioned capitals scarcely so well formed, which surmount the piers formed of a large quatrefoil centre,

with four detached columns placed in the angles of the curves of the quatrefoils.

The minor columns to the piers are slightly banded, at regular distances, with brass; but this band is too slight to be effective, which is a matter of regret, as this form of ornamentation is well adapted to this style, to which it is especially attached. The groining of the nave and aisles is of the simplest form, with ribs on the angles, with bosses at the intersections, and cross-ribs from pier to pier, which in the clerestory are bracketed out as trefoiled columns, although to the aisles they are simply detached shafts.

The western transept corresponds very much with the nave in almost all proportions, save that the arches (three in number) of the eastern aisle are enriched with the dog-tooth ornament. These formed the approach to the six chapels and altars, which were, as is usual, separated by a screen-wall. A double piscina still exists in the south wall of the southern transepts.

The western transept commences the ancient choir, which I suppose to have occupied the area under the spire and the three eastern bays, with the bay at the intersection of the eastern transept, the three bays farther east being apparently occupied by the presbytery. All these arches are as in the transept, but the piers have eight detached columns round the central shafts that vary in form. The seats and elbows to the stalls are generally those that must have been first put into the cathedral. The poppy-heads (if I may so call the fleur-de-lis termination to the bench ends) are of the date of Henry VII or VIII,—an evidence of the newly introduced Italian form of ornament; but the canopies to the stalls are the sad work of Wyatt. But, bad as they are, it is but due to his memory to state that they exhibit much more knowledge of Gothic than could have been expected from the generally limited learning displayed by the architects of a period when art and taste seem to have been swallowed up by the angry passions that overspread Europe.

I could wish that I possessed sufficient eloquence and power of persuasion to induce the dean and chapter to remove this screen of woodwork, which so sadly destroys the beauty of the cathedral; and if, with its removal, the organ could be placed in a transept, and the gallery removed, the groundwork of a choir would be disclosed, which, unadorned,

would be an improvement on the present; but if again partially enclosed by work similar to the screen now in the north-eastern transept, this choir would be fitted to its cathedral, which cannot certainly be said of it at present. East of the transept was, I believe, the high altar: the mark of a raised step certainly exists; and this portion is particularly marked as a part more especially holy, from the representation of our Lord in a *vesica piscis* in the groin immediately above. I imagine that, had the east end been finished more eastward, the high altar would have been one bay more east, and on a line with the chapels of the eastern transept, in each of which there are two chapels.

In the northern wall of the northern transept is a plain double ambry, with part of the original door; and in the adjoining chapels is a lavatory for washing the sacred vessels, said to have been removed from the entrance to the vestry room. In the south transept is a double piscina and double ambry; but the most striking object in this transept, if not the most interesting portion of architecture in the cathedral, is the tomb and hearse of bishop Bridport, who is said to have completed this building in 1258 or 1260. This is well known to most of us from the east at Sydenham, placed there as a most perfect representation of its style.

The whole consists of an arcade supporting a groined roof covered by a span roof, at the angles and apex of which are terminations foliated in the most exquisite finials. In this example the most simple form of hearse is preserved; the ornamentation being strictly constructive, quite a pattern to the monuments of perhaps more refined times, which, although rich in pinnacles, crockets, and buttresses, and with tracery marvellously beautiful, yet lose sight of the objects of the erection; and instead of endeavouring to convey an idea of the charming repose here exemplified, fritter everything away in the most fantastic general forms.

Proceeding further eastward, in what I conceive to be the presbytery, we find in the central northern arch a beautiful chapel, erected to the memory of Edmund Audley, bishop of Sarum, who died 1524. It is of the finest period of Perpendicular, is well designed and carved, and has been coloured apparently in good taste. The chapel is divided on each side into two compartments, separated in the centre by an octagonal buttress, corresponding with small buttresses at

the angles, ornamented by twelve beautiful tabernacles, and terminating very cleverly in a sort of pedestal above the cornice and strawberry enrichments that crown the top of the chapel. The western division is occupied, in the lower compartment, by a door and small window, the opening above being devoid of tracery. The eastern division has the tomb richly canopied, which forms a shelf that is again canopied at the springing of the arch. Can this upper division be intended to receive a representation of the eastern sepulchre? The compartments on the northern side are filled with tracery. The interior is richly groined in fan tracery, with the arms of the founder and see in bosses. The altar has been removed, but the tabernacles remain; the centre compartment contains what may possibly have been the crucifixion, but the carving has been so defaced that it is difficult to be ascertained. A large tabernacle and two smaller ones on each side complete the composition.

Arriving at the eastern end of the church, you will see what I described to you on the exterior, namely, the arrangement of the arches from the most eastern columns; which, although arranged with consummate skill, is, from the nature of its construction, certainly most awkward. The three arches, too, are, most unusually, not enriched, as to the aisles; although, from their filling the place of honour, we might easily expect that they would be still more adorned. This, and the peculiar construction on the angle piers, which I before spoke of, leads me to believe that this termination was not first intended, but that it was proposed to build as I mentioned on the exterior.

The Lady Chapel we now visit; and I will here particularly draw your attention to the extreme beauty of the shafts and the elegance of the groining, which, to my mind, is not out-done by that even of the Chapter House. Beautiful although it is, it seems to want something to give it dignity and repose; for we hardly estimate its design so much, when we consider that the object of its erection was to embue the beholder with the strictest reverence. This building (I may be considered, I fear, heretical for saying so) would be far preferable as a palatial hall or chapter house, than as a chapel dedicated to God's service.

Here let me pause, and before examining the peculiarities of the construction of the internal abutments of the tower,

call your attention to the sad want of taste exhibited in throwing open this latter portion of the cathedral. It gains nothing in dignity by the change; and an altar-screen, backed by the distant chapel, would be preferable to the open and comfortless appearance, which the original architects never could have contemplated, and to which the whole arrangements of this building are in direct opposition.

In the north-eastern transept, against the western wall, are placed ten stone tabernacles, corresponding with those in the western façade, and richly foliated. The spandrels are enriched by angels holding various emblems or musical instruments, and the whole has been richly coloured and gilded. This stood formerly across, between the two western pillars of the tower, and formed the entrance to the choir.

To continue the history of the propping of the tower. In the best decorated period, about the time of the strutting the flying buttresses of the spire, or perhaps when the buttress to the clerestory was erected across the eastern transept, were built these peculiar but beautiful arches, acting as braces in precisely a similar way to those of the same form at Wells, but which want the beauty these exhibit. They are contrived in a most scientific manner, by forming, in the height of the original arch of the transept, an arch, the apex of which is on a level with the floor of the triforium, and an inverted arch upon this again, the curve of whose lines resists the thrust of the tower. The curve of this arch appears to me to partake somewhat of the catenarian curve, the properties of which, I believe, were not discovered until the sixteenth century.

From the mouldings of the inverted arch being pointed at the junction with the lower arch, you will not at first see that the point is rounded in execution within the lines of the mouldings; but if you carefully examine it, you will find this is the case.

I will now take you beneath the tower, that you may observe the four main arches which support it, enriched with pateras. You will find that these pateras do not exist close to the capitals, but that at that point a different moulding occurs. I gather from this, that only a portion of the first-built arches remains, that is to say, the upper of the three recesses; the lower ones being removed, and enriched ones substituted to correspond more with the richer work of the



newer tower and spire. These arches support an arcade (not now seen from the nave) that was formerly a series of detached Purbeck columns, round the whole of the interior of the tower; but these have since been incorporated with the wall work by the addition of extra masonry. Above this would have been the roof, supported on knee-pieces and corbels; but as there is no mark left of their existence, it is doubtful whether the work, at this point, was permanently completed, although I have little doubt that this story was to have been open to the church. I therefore fancy a spire above was always contemplated; the roof was only erected in a temporary manner until the work should be recommenced, which was not done, as we have seen before, until the existence of another style, which completed what a preceding generation commenced.

I described to you the various settlements in the tower on the exterior, and their lengthened continuance; but, as a last resource, it was determined to block up the windows, and again buttress the interior of the clerestory,—which is most singularly and cleverly accomplished,—in addition to building two four-centred arches across the western transepts. This latter proved highly successful; but their erection rendered it unnecessary to complete the flying buttresses I before pointed out to you at the south-western angle; and so fearless were they of the security of their precautions, and the stability of the structure, that in 1480, some time after, they loaded the building with the groining now beneath the tower. From this I am led to infer that there can be no chance of a further settlement of this far-famed spire;¹ and that, if any slight depression has taken place since 1480, it cannot be from the original cause, but simply from the decay of the materials; as in our labours, however lasting, and however worthy the resistance and the admiration of age after age, there is no contradicting the divine precept, that everything is but dust.

¹ Since the Congress held at Salisbury, the spire has been ascertained to be in precisely the same position that it was when plumbed by sir Christopher Wren.

ON THE
ANCIENT SCULPTURED STONES OF SCOTLAND,
IRELAND, AND THE ISLE OF MAN.

BY GILBERT J. FRENCH, ESQ.¹

ANY attempt to explain the origin of the singularly elegant interlaced ornamentation, familiar to archæologists as the very earliest style of artistic decoration known in the British islands, must be entitled to, and, I feel assured, will receive from the British Archæological Association, favourable consideration. Even should the attempted explanation fail to obtain entire sanction, it will at least lead to attentive and accurate observations upon an interesting subject, which may, at some future time, refute or establish the theory which I venture to propound.

The style of interlaced ornament to which I refer, is found in an infinite variety of devices on the earliest sculpture, whether of stone or metal, and in the oldest manuscripts and illuminations of Britain and Ireland. It retained its peculiar, distinctive character throughout the Roman occupation of Britain, slightly modified by, and often mixed with, classical ornaments. These, however, in a great measure disappeared during the Saxon period,—a circumstance which induces the belief that, whatever its origin and purpose, interlaced ornamentation was equally familiar to the Saxon invaders and to the British aborigines. It entered largely into Norman architecture; but from the time of the Conquest it gradually became less used, though traces of it are to be met with at nearly every period in the history of British art. Thus it was revived with the introduction of printing, when many beautiful capital letters, copied from ancient manuscripts, were reproduced as woodcuts. It reappeared in the strap-work peculiar to the architecture and ornamentation of the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras. It is found in the bone-lace patterns of this country, and of Northern Europe, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and was

¹ Read at the Salisbury Congress, August 6, 1858. The council of the Association embrace this opportunity thankfully to acknowledge the liberality of the author in the presentation of the illustrations to his ingenious paper.

retained, in almost its original purity, for the decoration of the dirks, targets, brooches, and powder-horns, of the Scottish Highlanders within the last hundred years.¹

Very striking examples of interlaced ornament are met with on the ancient sculptured stones and crosses so plentifully scattered over our islands. They have been of late brought into prominent notice by three invaluable publications, which graphically represent and accurately describe these interesting relics of ancient art, as they are now found in Scotland,² Ireland,³ and the Isle of Man.⁴ It is to be regretted that those of England and Wales, though many of them have been separately engraved, have not yet been collected in a well edited volume, since a careful comparison of their details would prove an immense assistance to antiquaries, bringing before them a new and delightful chapter richly full of pre-historic suggestions.

My remarks are confined to sculptured stones only, though the subject would be greatly elucidated, and my argument enforced, by references to manuscripts and metal ornamentation. This ground, however, is so well occupied by gentlemen who have made palæography and metallic art their peculiar study, that I decline intruding upon it, even had it been possible to treat it satisfactorily within the limits of this paper.

The aborigines of this or any other country of corresponding climate, after discovering some natural cave, or making for themselves a rude hut, would probably take their next step in constructive art by attempting to form such utensils as might contain, and enable them to preserve, the fruits and seeds necessary for food. Assuming that they were then unprovided with even the rudest tools,—for we refer to a time before our far-off ancestors knew the use of bronze or iron,—they would form these utensils by twisting together the long, pliant osiers with which the land abounded, and of which, by the unaided action of the fingers, they could form baskets excellently adapted for the required purpose.

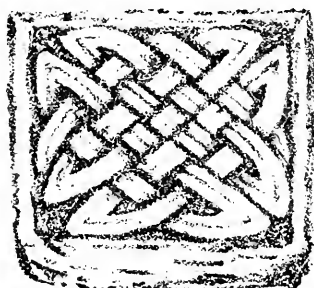
No other branch of art is even now so independent of

¹ *Archæological and Pre-Historic Annals of Scotland*, pp. 221, 504, 505.

² *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, privately printed by the Spalding Club, and liberally presented to the Association and many other antiquarian societies.

³ *The Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland*, by Henry O'Neill.

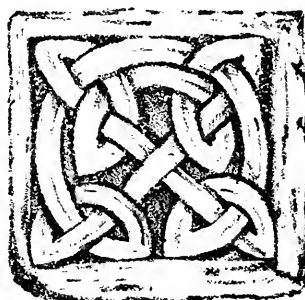
⁴ *The Runic and other Monumental Remains of the Isle of Man*, by the Rev. J. G. Cumming.



DRALIE



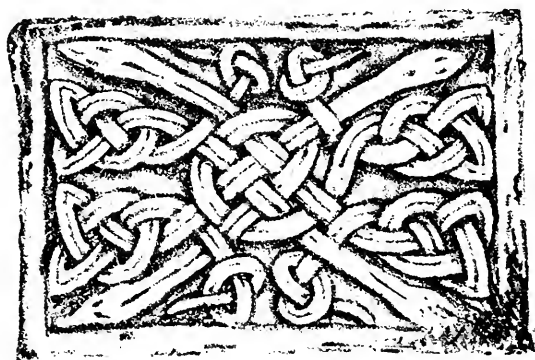
MEIGLE



GOVAN



GOVAN



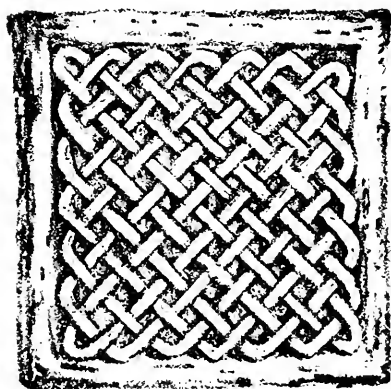
SANDWICK



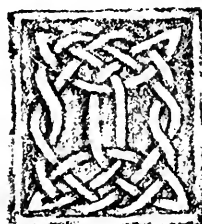
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GLOUMACNOISE



GLOUMACNOISE



MEIGLE

MONTEBLOW HOUSE



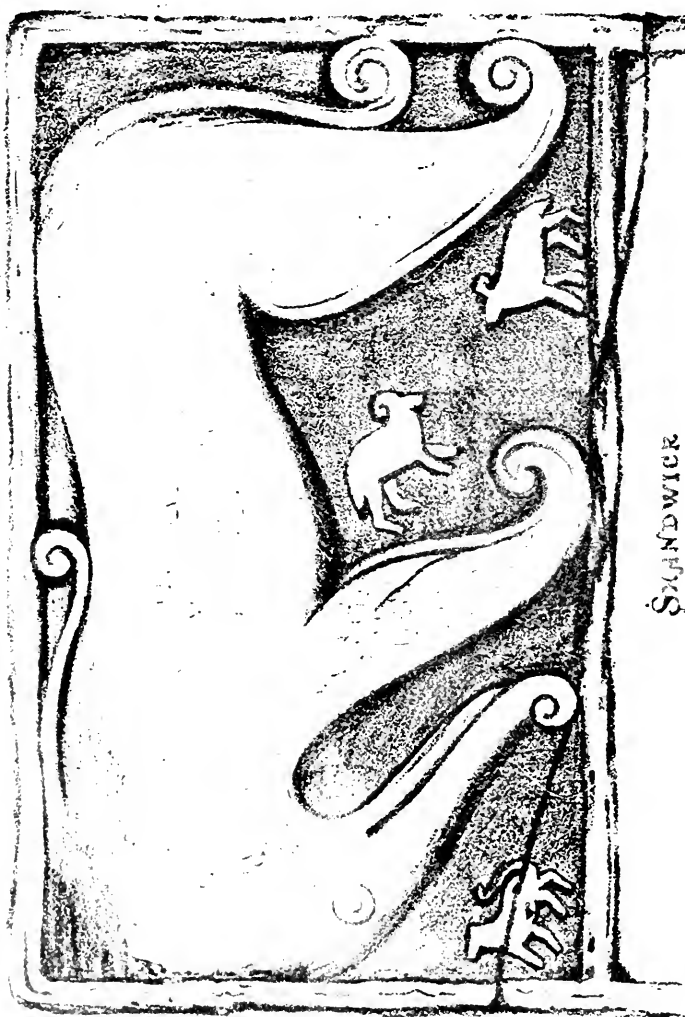
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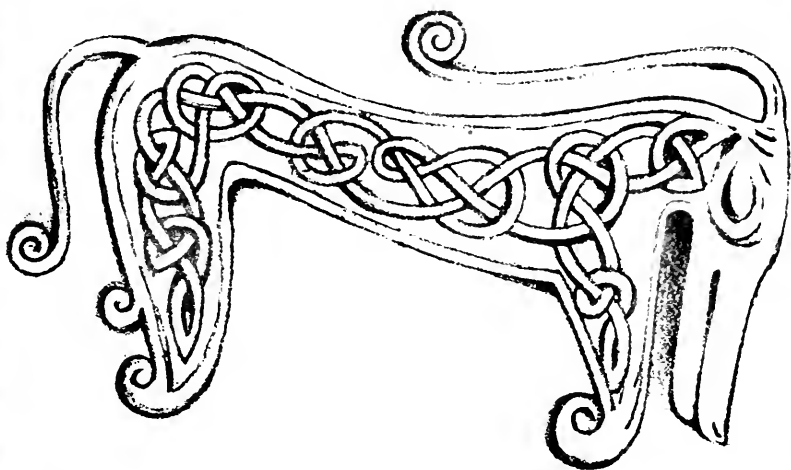


RURLESPAN



SANDWICK

1



Brobro

2



Glenfeyness



IN THE CHURCHYARD OF RIAR MICHAEL
ISLE OF MAN



BRITISH URNS



THEORY OF A ROSE AND BIRD SLAB



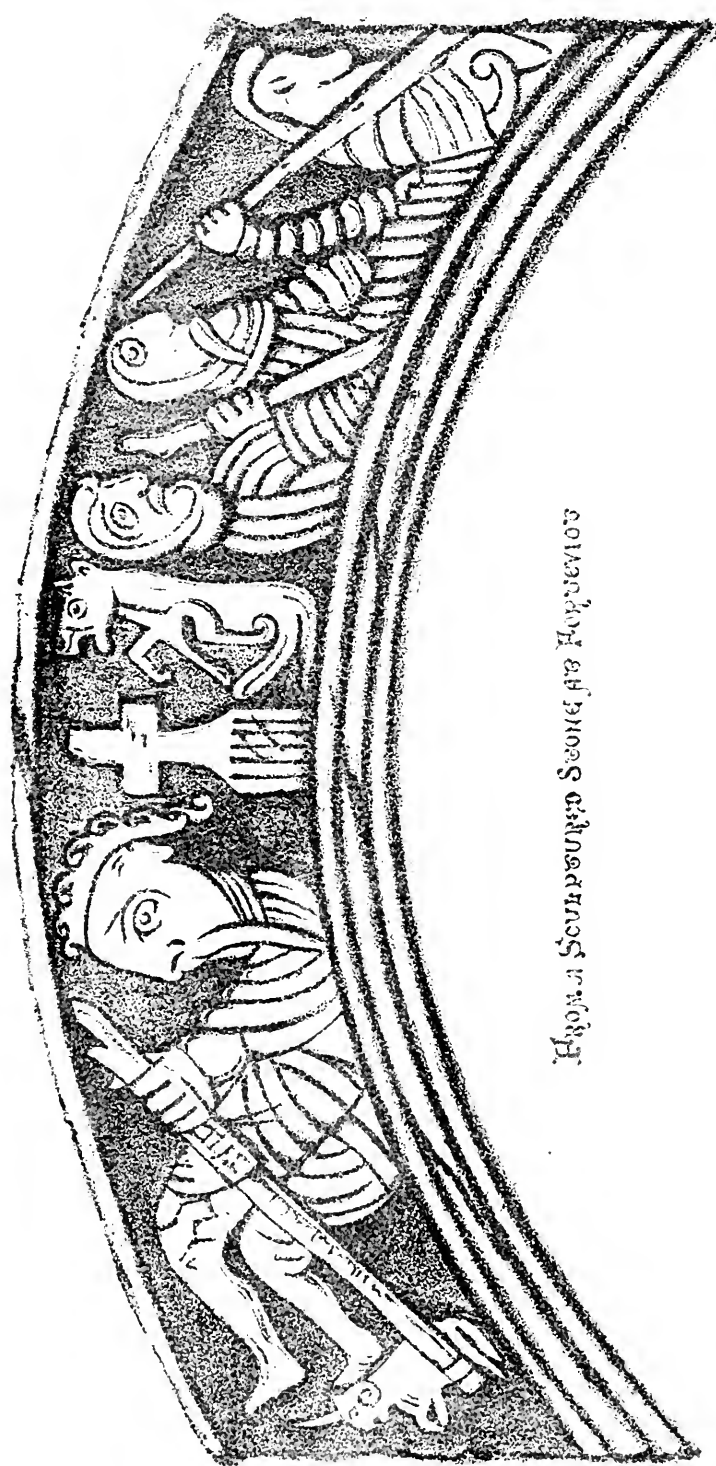


Fig. 1. Scene of the Crucifixion



tools; and none has been so universally diffused, or so long and uninterruptedly practised, as basket-making. It is the humble parent of all textile art; the most elaborate tissues produced by the loom or the needle being but progressive developments proceeding from the rude wattle-work of unclothed savages. Basket-making is the first natural step in the path of civilization. To this day the earliest effort of infantile ingenuity among the rural population is directed to making (as it were by intuitive instinct) personal ornaments of plaited rushes; and that, too, in patterns, some of which are identical with the devices engraved by our pre-historic ancestors on their old sculptured stones.

The earliest authentic records of Britain refer to its inhabitants as expert basket-makers: their houses were made of willows and reeds; their fences and fortifications were living trees with intertwined branches; their boats were baskets covered with skins; their domestic furniture, defensive armour, even the images employed in their erroneous religion, were each of wicker-work; and though we have no absolute proof that such was the case, it is at least probable that those famous chariots so formidable to the Roman invaders were similarly constructed; for it appears altogether impossible that the feats recorded of these celebrated charioteers could have been performed with carriages of wood and iron; though, if we can suppose them to have been of small size, constructed of elastic wicker-work, and placed upon low wheels, the accounts of their marvellous movements become reasonable, and within the bounds of credibility.

The monastic historians of the succeeding ages continue to mention wicker-work as the principal architectural material used in Britain and Ireland, not only for the rude dwellings of the inhabitants, but also for their more important public edifices and churches. Thus we find that, so late as the sixth century, Dermot MacKervel assisted "the abbot St. Keyran to make a house to dwell in", by "thrusting down the peirs or wattles" of which it was made.¹ The monastery founded by St. Columba, in the same century, though of much theological repute, must have had little material grandeur, as it is known that the great apostle of

¹ *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, quoted in notes to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i, p. 181.

the Scots "sent forth his monks to gather twigs to build their hospice"; and the abode of St. Woloe, a bishop of the same age, was "a simple hut of wattles". Glastonbury, supposed to have been the earliest Christian church in England, was, on the authority of William of Malmesbury,¹ "a mean structure of wattle-work"; and there are numerous other references to churches and monasteries constructed altogether or in part of the same material. Vestiges of such structures are now occasionally met with, which verify the records of the Roman and mediæval historians. Recently, on the Etive, in Argyleshire, the progress of agricultural improvement has uncovered rough pavements of stone, bearing marks of fire, strewn with charred ashes, surrounded with the remains of hazel stakes; the relics of the framework of ancient Caledonian hearths, which have been concealed for centuries under a cover of eight or ten feet of moss.²

Many of the purposes to which the ancient Briton applied his manufacture of baskets were singularly useful; and so well were they adapted to their peculiar purposes, that they are employed, almost unchanged, even to the present day. The coracle of basket and hide is still used by sportsmen and poachers on the waters of North Wales.³ The bothies of the Scottish Highlanders are yet constructed of wattles; and even in the cottages of a better kind the doors and sleeping cribs are frequently of the same fabric: so also are their rude little sledges and carts; and, until of late, their horse harness also.⁴ Modern civilization does not now disdain to use for drags, dog-carts, and German wagons, the same strong yet light and elastic materials which the ancient Briton probably employed for his formidable war-chariot; and our ancestors of the last century knew well the value of the stage-coach "*basket*" as a convenient means of conveyance over their rough roads.

"Hanapers (or hampers) of twyggys" were long the official receptacles for certain documents connected with the Court of Chancery; and the name is still, or was recently, applied to an officer of that court.

The firm hold with which long-established customs, com-

¹ William of Malmesbury, book i, c. 20.

² Pre-Historic Annals of Scotland, p. 76.

³ Information from Mr. Hughes of Chester, 1858.

⁴ M'Ian's *Highland Clans*.—M'Neil.

bined with convenience, fix themselves upon the reason of men, and the pertinacity with which nations cling to their old habits—refusing, for the sake of old associations, alterations of the most obvious utility—is altogether marvellous. Speaking of this power and permanency of custom, lord Bacon curiously illustrates the subject by an anecdote pertinent to the matter before us. “I remember, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth’s time (of England), an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the deputy that he should be hanged in a withe, and not in an halter, because it had been so used with former rebels.”¹ Another author, in his version of the same story, says that this “favour of being hanged in gads (twisted withes, so called after the manner of the country) was not refused.”² This, though probably an extreme, is by no means an unique prejudice in favour of ancient modes of execution,—a prejudice which extends beyond life, influencing nations in their adherence to old-established sepulchral customs.

A manufacture which was probably progressing for many centuries before the Romans invaded Britain, must necessarily have acquired a certain amount of refined ornament as a result of so much experience and practice. We have, indeed, direct evidence that the Romans greatly admired the ornamental baskets of the British, which were exported in large quantities to Rome, and became fashionable appendages among the extravagantly luxurious furniture of the imperial city. Juvenal, writing about A.D. 120, mentions the popularity of these baskets;³ and that they were productions of the British islanders, is distinctly stated by the epigrammatist Martial,⁴ who wrote about the end of the first century. It is not improbable that these British baskets were enriched with colour, and even gilding. The former, we know, was profusely and permanently applied to the persons of the aborigines; the latter—probably one of the earliest discovered metals—was used in the middle of the fifth century for so common a purpose as decorating the

¹ Essay on Custom and Education.

² Thomas Dinley’s *Journal of a Tour in Ireland* (*Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, vol. i, p. 180, New Series).

³ “Adde et bascaudas et mille escaria.”—Juvenal, *Sat.* xii, v. 46.

⁴ “Barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis

Sed me jam mavult dicere Roma suam.”

Martial, lib. xiv, *Epiq.* 99.

roofs of important buildings.¹ It is not, therefore, likely that they were denied as additional means of ornament to these highly valued baskets.

When the aboriginal Briton had made his first step in domestic civilization by constructing useful baskets, he would still be subjected to a great inconvenience from the absence of any suitable vessel of sufficient size to convey or store a supply of water. Nature, in this country, did little to assist him, denying even the slight aid of the gourd and calabash common in warmer climates. To invent a water-vessel would thus become to him a necessity: without it he must have been compelled to reside on the bank of some river or brook, in which he and his family could quench their thirst in the same manner, and as frequently, as the wild animals of the surrounding forests. Nor is it improbable that many generations of people were restricted to such localities for this reason.

There appears, at first sight, to be no possible analogy between baskets and water-vessels; yet I apprehend that they are in reality almost twin inventions. The same reasoning which induced the naked Briton to line the wicker walls of his hut with clay, for the purpose of excluding cold, would, after some experience, lead to an application of the same material as a coating to the inside of his baskets, which, when dried in the sun, or hardened by fire applied to the inside, would then be enabled to retain liquids at least for a time, and consequently permit the desired migration from the immediate margin of a river. This is, of course, a gratuitous assertion, of no value without proof; but it is also a reasonable induction, and one which is, I venture to think, worthy the considerate attention of archaeologists.

Fortunately vessels of this description have been preserved in the ancient burialplaces of the Britons, and are occasionally exhumed in a state of tolerable preservation. They are, for the most part, not turned on the potter's wheel, but moulded by the hand, and marked on the exterior by ornaments, not in relief, but always depressed or incised, having the appearance of indentations made in the soft clay by plaited osiers, rushes, or strips of hide, more or less distinct;

¹ In the Saxon poem, *Beowulf*, translated by the late Mr. Kemble, there occurs this passage: "He went to the hall, stood on the steps, and beheld the steep roof with gold adorned." (Line 1811.)

but, so far as I know, all referrible to such an origin.¹ In some, the coating of clay appears not to be carried to the mouth of the basket, but the plaited rushes seem to have been folded inside; and thus the interior of the urn is, on its upper portions, indented with the same pattern of basket-work as that on the outer side. All British urns are, comparatively with Roman or with Saxon examples, wide-mouthed,—a condition essential to their being made by hand on an exterior framework of plaited rushes or willows; and some appear to have been constructed on two separate baskets, one inverted over the other. There is rarely any attempt at *ansation*; the nearest approach to handles being heavy perforated knobs placed a little beneath the mouth, for the evident purpose of attaching to them the twigs, withes, or thongs, which served both to protect and to suspend these fragile vessels.

I must not be supposed to assert that the ornaments found on British, occasionally on Anglo-Roman, and abundantly on Anglo-Saxon urns, were, in all cases, real impressions of basket-work; but merely that the use of that style of ornament probably originated in the manner I have described, and that it was continued after the introduction of the potter's wheel, by force of habit and long-continued custom. This induced the potter to stamp or incise on the surface of the vessels he made, ornamental devices similar to those on the honoured urns of an earlier people; for that they were honoured, and held in high estimation, is apparent from the sacred purposes to which they were applied as receptacles for the ashes of the dead. In absence of all direct proof of this assumed origin of urn ornamentation, I have thought it right to test the possibility of the process,—with a result entirely satisfactory. Taking such small baskets as I found used by my family for ordinary domestic purposes, I have roughly coated them inside with different clays, subjecting some to the action of fire in the kiln, while others I have left exposed to the sun, and to a few I have applied heat inside only. On all, the indentations of the basket-work are sufficiently marked; but they are best defined on the sun-dried specimens, since the shrinking of the clay under the action of fire in the kiln obliterates some of the more salient

¹ See plate 8 for examples of British urns, copied from plate iii of the *Archæological Index*, by J. Y. Akerman, esq., sec. S.A.

ridges. A comparison of these jars with ancient British urns will, I apprehend, be more satisfactory and convincing than any elaborate argument, leaving little doubt that both have been produced by similar processes, and that the British urn is, in truth, a secondary application of the British basket.¹

Mr. Birch, in his learned and most valuable *History of Ancient Pottery*, applies the term "*bascaudæ*", employed by Juvenal and Martial, not to baskets, but to sepulchral urns with basket-like ornamentation.² Though most unwilling to hazard a contrary opinion, I still cannot avoid suggesting that such urns, judging from the specimens which have been preserved for our inspection, were not likely to be acceptable ornaments on the tables of the luxurious Romans, accustomed as they must have been to elegant products of high art in the plastic manufactures of Etruria, Greece, and Egypt. It is, I think, greatly more probable that ornamental baskets to contain fruit or flowers were indicated by that name.

Though there is good proof that the Britons had acquired much skill in the art of basket-making at the time of the occupation of this island by the Romans, it is equally certain that they were ignorant of the art of constructive masonry; for when the legions left the British to their own resources, they advised them to build a wall between the two seas, across the island, to keep off their northern enemies. They, indeed, "raised the wall as they had been directed"; but "not of stone, *as having no artist capable of such work*, but of sods [which] made it of no use."³ From this it is apparent that the British people at that time, and probably for some centuries afterwards, were unaccustomed to the use of building materials of a kind more permanent than wood, wattle-work, and clay. Such an arrangement quite accords with the manners of the people and the state of the country at that period, covered as it was with extensive forests, and swamps abounding with osiers. A people of migratory habits, occupied in perpetual warfare, and depending in a

¹ An octogenarian friend informs me that he remembers it to have been the custom with the small moorland farmers of Lancashire to make coarse earthenware mugs by painting the inside of wicker baskets first with cow-dung, and then with repeated coats of clay dissolved in water to the consistency of cream. Each coat was thoroughly sun-dried before the next was applied.

² *History of Ancient Pottery*, vol. ii, pp. 381-384.

³ Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, book i, chap. 12.

great measure on the chase for their food, must have had little inducement to build residences of great durability; and this would happily lead to the more rapid clearing of the country, and consequently to its earlier civilization.

Such was the condition of art in Britain and Ireland at the time when the first Christian missionaries commenced their labours in these countries. So signal was their success that Tertullian, writing of his own time (the third century), tells us that "some countries of the Britons that proved impregnable to the Romans, are yet subjected to Christ." It was the custom of those earnest and indefatigable men (so pious in their lives, that, after their death, they were usually honoured with the title of "saint") to place crosses in every place where they succeeded in making converts, or in which they planted a church, chapel, or monastery; and it becomes a question of some interest to ascertain the materials of these early symbols of the Christian faith, which must have been extensively spread over the land. Clearly they were not of stone, since we know that even after the Romans left England, the natives had not sufficient skill to build a wall of that material; nor have we any reason to believe that they had the ability, or the tools requisite, for the construction of a cross of timber, which would demand the use of cutting instruments with finer edges than those necessary for stone. Under these circumstances it is only natural that the British convert would dedicate to the glory of God the products of that talent which had acquired for him a continental celebrity. The basket-work so prized at Rome was the most valuable oblation that the pious ancient Briton could offer to the services of his new religion; and thus it was that the first emblems of Christianity erected in England were (almost necessarily) constructed of basket-work. The perishable nature of the material forbids us to expect almost any other than inferential evidence that crosses of basket-work ever existed; but happily this is not denied to us. A careful examination of the admirable engravings of the sculptured stones of Scotland, the ancient Irish crosses, and the curious monumental remains of the Isle of Man, together with many existing carved crosses in England and Wales, cannot fail to convince any unprejudiced observer that the beautiful interlaced ornamentation so lavishly employed on these sculptures derived its origin from the earlier

decorations of that British basket-work which the Romans had learned to value and admire.

Before attempting to describe the method by which such crosses may be, and probably were, constructed, I beg to call attention to the fact that basket-work and the earlier Pagan or Druidical religion were closely connected.

Cæsar, writing of the Druids, states that "they have images of enormous size, the limbs of which, formed of wicker-work, they fill with living men; which being set on fire, the men perish enveloped in flames";¹ and Strabo says, "having prepared a Colossus of hay, and thrown wood upon it, they burn together oxen, all sorts of wild beasts, and men."² It has been assumed that these wicker-work images were in the human form; but I apprehend that there is nothing in either text to warrant this conclusion. The word Colossus implies a figure of large size, which may quite as probably have been that of some enormous animal.

On the Shandwick stone,³ one of the most interesting of the Scottish series, figures of men, horses, stags, birds, and other animals, are carved with much spirit, and with more than usual attention to their relative proportions. The animals are represented in life-like attitudes, as if moving about. But there is one remarkable exception (see plate 5), a colossal four-legged creature, of a form peculiar to these Scottish stones, differing from the others as much in figure as in size. Compared with two sheep and a dog, which occur on the same panel, its height, if erect, would be about thirteen feet, its length about eighteen feet; while its ungainly leaning posture is singularly suggestive of its being a sculptured representation of some huge beast built of wicker-work. Certain marks on its surface warrant this supposition, which is strengthened by the fact that other representations of a similar animal, which occur on the same series, have the most distinct indications of a basket-work origin. Well marked examples are to be found on the stones at Brodie and at Glenferness. (See figs. 1 and 2 of plate 6.) Resembling no known animal, these curious figures—which are represented above twenty times on the Scottish stones, and are nowhere else to be met with—have a general likeness to each other. They are all in postures by no means indicating life or

¹ De Bell. Gal., lib. vi.

² Strabo, lib. iv.

³ Sculptured Stones of Scotland, plate xxvi.

motion, and all distinguished by the striking peculiarity of having no feet. The limbs terminate in long wands rolled up after the manner of volutes, obviously suggesting the idea that if opened out, they would serve, on being thrust deeply into the ground, to keep the Colossus in a standing attitude. Similar volutes are represented terminating the base of the well-known cross at the gate of St. Michael's churchyard, in the Isle of Man. They were probably used in the same way, to fix to the ground an earlier cross of wicker-work, of which the existing monument is a copy engraved on stone.

I dare not, of course, take it upon me to assert that there is any positive connexion between the huge animal on the Shandwick stone, and the colossal images mentioned by Cæsar and Strabo as being employed by the Druids in their human sacrifices; but the coincidence (if, indeed, it be not something more) is sufficiently curious and interesting to demand a passing notice. It is supposed that these and some other as yet inexplicable devices found on the same stones are symbols of a religion prior to Christianity,—a circumstance by no means improbable, as it is known that convents among the Saxons, and probably the Britons also, clung with much pertinacity to some of their Druidical and Pagan customs long after they had assumed the outward emblems of Christianity. This may account for the juxtaposition of the cross with devices of unknown meaning, and explain, in some degree, the remarkable circumstance that Pagan and Christian emblems both derive their ornamentation from the same source—basket-work.

Having shewn that, at the time when Christianity was introduced into Britain, the native population, totally unacquainted with practical masonry, were yet expert and experienced manufacturers of highly ornamental baskets; and suggested the reasonable probability that they would employ their best talents in the service of their new religion, as they had previously devoted them to their earlier Pagan or Druidical superstitions, I proceed to offer some reasons for believing that the first crosses erected by Christian missionaries in Britain, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, were constructed of plaited osiers.

Many of the mediæval biographers narrate with much minuteness the particulars of stone crosses set up by Chris-

tian bishops; but no such notices occur before the sixth century; and from the great importance attached to them by the monastic historians, it is evident that they were objects of extraordinary interest, and, moreover, of *exceptional material*. Such crosses were erected by St. Columba, St. Oswald, St. Cuthbert, bishop Ethelwold, and other holy men. Of Kentigern (better known in Scotland as St. Mungo) it is said that, among many crosses which he put up, one in the city of Glasgow was taken from the quarry by his orders; and, by the united efforts of many men, erected in the cemetery of the church of the Holy Trinity, in which his episcopal throne was set up. That this particular cross was of more than usual importance may be inferred from the statement of his biographer, that it was the custom of St. Kentigern to erect a cross in any place where he had converted the people, or had for a time resided. Such crosses, therefore, must have been executed by some less laborious process than was used for the one which he erected near his cathedral about the end of the sixth century, and which is said to have still marked the spot where the original edifice stood, when the Cathedral of the West was reconstructed five hundred years afterwards.

But St. Kentigern erected one other cross, which demands the attention and consideration of archaeologists. We are informed that at Locherward, a parish in Mid-Lothian, now called Borthwick, he set up a cross constructed of *sea-sand*. There is no hint of any miraculous assistance in the erection of this cross, and therefore we are constrained to look for some mechanical appliance by which sea-sand could be made to cohere in the form of a cross.¹

But first I may be permitted to suggest a possible motive for the adoption of a material so unstable, and apparently so little fitted for the purpose.

Locherward (now Borthwick) is a considerable inland property in the east of Scotland; and for some reasons, not requisite to be inquired into here, this parish was appended to the western diocese of Cumbria, which comprised the valley of the Clyde, and much of the west coast of Scotland, during the episcopate of St. Kentigern. It is not improbable, then, that this cross-rearing bishop would commemorate so

¹ Pinkerton's *Vite Sanctorum Scotie*, pp. 286-7, quoted in the preface to *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, p. 5.

important an event in his accustomed manner, by sending to Locherward a cross of baskets made of the osiers, and filled with the sea-sand of his western diocese; which, having been sanctified by his episcopal benediction, would be appropriately set up in his new territory as a visible sign of the transfer, and a practical assertion of his accession to the property. Here again, however, I am compelled to say that I have not a shadow of proof to offer in support of my surmise. St. Kentigern may have set up the sea-sand cross by other means, and for another purpose. I have only endeavoured to suggest a reason in accordance with possibility and the customs of the times in which he lived.

Before asking you to believe that the earliest existing stone crosses were reproductions of still earlier crosses of twigs, I may well be expected to offer some evidence that any such basket-work crosses ever existed.

Of all the superstitious legends of the middle ages, none was more widely popular than that of St. Patrick's purgatory. The little island in gloomy Lough Derg, in which it was believed that both the pains and advantages of purgatory could be anticipated, and the duration of its torments abridged, was visited by great and powerful pilgrims, who enriched its clerical guardians by their offerings. Suppressed at the Reformation, and its rude buildings more than once demolished by the orders of government, it nevertheless still retains so strong a grasp on the superstitious feelings of the poor and ignorant of the present day, that, actuated by religious enthusiasm, crowds of such pilgrims, at certain seasons, pour themselves upon this miserable little islet, consisting of three roods of barren surface; and so numerous are these visitors, that the tenant pays the landlord a yearly rent of £300 (the greater part in sixpences), derived from a small charge imposed on them at the ferry toll.¹

In this place, where ancient superstitious practices still linger, the remembrance of its founder and his imputed miracles would naturally be longest retained, and any relics appertaining to him preserved with pertinacious care. None such can now be found; but it is recorded that about or before the year 1630, a certain lord Dillon visited the island, accompanied by a government surveyor, and they gave a detailed description of the place, which was published by

¹ Ulster Journal of Archaeology, vol. v, p. 81.

the then bishop of the diocese. In their report it is stated that, "at the east end of the church there is a heap of stones, on which there is *a cross made of interwoven twigs*. This is known by the name of St. Patrick's altar; on which there do lie three pieces of a bell, which they say St. Patrick used to carry in his hand," etc.¹ This is the only record I have met with of any actual cross of twigs or basket-work. It was probably the last of innumerable crosses of the same kind, and was found in the place where, of all others, the latest example was likely to be met with. Doubtless it was a frequently repeated copy of some ancient cross attributed originally to the hands of the patron saint of Ireland.²

The devices sculptured on a majority of the Scottish and Manx monoliths must have been executed before the artists possessed such skill or such tools as would enable them to cut the outline of the stone itself to any required form. They do not appear, at that time, to have *set up* crosses; but they engraved representations of that symbol on the surface of huge stones, many of which were already fixed in an erect position, and most probably had been for a long series of years employed in the services of an earlier religion. Upon such stones they imitated the ornamentation of wicker-work by innumerable reiterated blows of their small celts of flint, bronze, or iron, working out the design in low relief, and shewing one half of the round, or as much only of the osier wands as could be seen when plaited together. It is only in the later examples that the outline of the stone assumes the form of the cross; and this change is accompanied by a considerable alteration in the ornamental details: the interlacings become less elegant, but more complicated, and terminate in the heads, tails, and limbs of various animals,

¹ From *Patricius, his Purgatory*, attributed to Spottiswood, bishop of Clogher, and also to his successor, bishop Jones; quoted in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. v, p. 71, and in Carleton's tale of *The Lough Derg Pilgrim*.

² Though a poetical authority is of no weight in antiquarian argument, it would be wrong to omit quoting sir Walter Scott's account of the famous fiery cross formed of twigs:

"The grisly priest, with murmuring prayer,
A slender crosslet framed with care,
A cubit's length in measure due;
The shaft and limbs were rods of yew.

* * * *

The cross thus formed he held en high
With wasted hand and haggard eye."

The Lady of the Lake, canto iii, stanza 8.

often grotesque in expression; or the wands burst into buds and leaves, or give place entirely to sculptured representations of men and animals of the rudest execution. It is a curious proof of the earlier use of the interwoven ornamentation, that it may be found in elegantly arranged and highly finished devices on the same stones with representations of the human figure so rudely carved as to appear to be the work of mere children.

It may be objected, that the British or Saxon artisan, when working on a new material, would adopt a style of ornament appropriate to it, and discard the totally irrelevant system of decoration which had been used by his ancestors; but it must be remembered that he had many inducements to adhere to the ancient patterns. The force of custom and education would be a powerful motive; and no other style of ornament was then known to the people, who were accustomed to, and well understood, these endless intricacies which appear to us a mass of confusion. Probably, however, the best reason was an earnest desire to perpetuate, in durable material, those crosses of perishable basket-work, before which he and his ancestors had bowed themselves in worship in the depths of their primæval forests,—crosses which had been sanctified by the holy men who at first erected them, and to many of which miraculous powers were undoubtedly attributed.

A majority of the Irish examples differ from those of Scotland and the Isle of Man, in being elaborately carved, in their outline, to the form of richly ornamented crosses. This argues either an earlier development of art in Ireland, or a later execution of the work; but the plaited ornaments are found to prevail in each locality, though they probably gave place to sculptured representations of men and animals somewhat earlier in Ireland than elsewhere. The usual form of these crosses is fairly expressed by the example engraved (see plate 4) representing the interesting Irish cross at Kilklespeen.

It may at first sight be supposed that crosses of timber would precede those of stone, the material being abundant and the workmanship apparently more easy; but a little consideration will shew that timber required tools of a higher order than stone. The blunt celt would be far from efficient as an instrument to carve wood, and sharp-edged tools were

not then attainable. Irrespective of this, the superior durability of stone would of itself induce the choice of that material.

There is a common arrangement in most of the Scottish and Irish crosses to which I desire to call attention: whether sculptured into true crosses, or merely engraved on the surface of the stone, they are divided into irregular compartments; each, for the most part, ornamented with a different device of interlaced work, or, in late examples, subjects in sculpture. These compartments are usually broad at the base, and gradually decrease in size towards the apex of the cross, as would be the case with a series of baskets piled upon each other, and then firmly bound together by continuous bands of twisted withes. A wheel or ring, connecting the horizontal with the perpendicular limbs, almost invariably accompanies the interlaced ornamentation on these early crosses. This ring I long supposed to represent a nimbus or glory; but remembering that that usual symbol of divinity is of eastern origin, and that it is commonly met with on crosses where there is no representation of the figure of our Lord, I was induced to seek for some other meaning, and have now no hesitation in saying that its original purpose was not symbolical, or even merely ornamental, but that it was a necessary appliance in the construction of the earlier wicker-work crosses, reproduced on the stone crosses for the same reasons which induced the retention of the interlaced ornaments.

It is obvious that the horizontal arms of a basket-work cross must require some extraneous aid to enable them to retain that position even for a short time. For this purpose the ring seemed to me to have been adopted; but I was quite unable to discover the manner in which it was applied, until, on application to a practical basket-maker, I was at once told that he could not construct a cross of willows without the ring; which he must make first, and then work the cross upon it. That such was its use is confirmed by the arrangement of some of the rude crosses in the Isle of Man. On the sculptured stone in the churchyard of Kirk Michael (see plate 7)¹ is a cross of interlaced work without

¹ I am indebted to the rev. George Cumming, M.A., for permission to re-engage this and plates 8 and 10, from his interesting work on the crosses of the Isle of Man; and to my nephew and assistant, Mr. W. E. Brown, for drawing all the illustrations of this *brochure* on stone.

any ring; but to compensate for its absence, another contrivance has been adopted. The horizontal arms are sustained by a series of plaited twigs hung over the top of the upper limb, and interwoven with the arms. On the reverse of the same stone (also represented on plate 7) the cross has a ring composed of one thick and two slender stems, which last appear to pass through, and fasten together, the limbs and the ring by a curious and ingenious knot. Another example of a similar fastening may be observed on the fragment of stone also at Kirk Michael (see plate 8), sculptured with a rude representation of the crucifixion. These knots are doubtless the origin of the richly ornamented bosses, often covered with basket-work, so frequently met with in exactly the same positions on the Irish and Scottish crosses.

Some of the human figures sculptured on the Scottish and Manx stones are so executed as to suggest that they also are reproductions from originals formed of twigs. This is particularly the case with a fragment at Forteviot (see plate 9),¹ the ancient Celtic capital of Scotland; on which four men, some animals, and a cross, are carved with curious rudeness; and with a portion of another crucifixion from the Isle of Man. (See plate 10.) Both of these have a considerable resemblance to the rustic work of rough twigs with which many gardeners of the present day delight to ornament their summer-houses and garden-seats. These examples suggest a common origin with the extraordinary illuminations which Mr. Westwood has reproduced from ancient manuscripts, particularly with those engraved in the *Journal* of the Archaeological Institute;² it being remembered that the sculpture and the illuminations were both probably enriched with colour and gilding.

I have made careful copies of numerous examples of ancient interlaced ornaments (several of which, with the names of the places whence they were derived, may be seen on plate 3), and placed them in the hands of various artisans, particularly basket-makers, straw-plaiters, wire-workers, and plaiters of ornamental hair. They all inform me that, with a few exceptions, the devices may be worked out in their respective materials; and several thanked me for put-

¹ From *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*.

² Vol. vii, pp. 17-19, 23, 24.

ting new patterns before them, which, they said, would be useful in their business. Some of these drawings I gave to my own workpeople, who reproduced the devices very effectively in braid-work and embroidery. They tell me they could, with time and patience, copy many of the most elaborate devices.

I must guard myself, however, against being supposed to assert that *all* the interlaced devices found on the old crosses may be reproduced in modern plait-work: such is not the case. Many of them may claim some other and very different origin; and there are others which the sculptor has doubtless modified and altered. The first Corinthian capital is said to have been modelled from a flower-pot covered with a tile, between which the leaves of an acanthus had forced themselves,—an arrangement which skilful architects have varied a hundred different ways, though retaining still the expression of the original idea. In the same spirit, the ancient Briton treated the panels of basket-work when he reproduced them on his crosses of stone.

There are many other branches of British and Irish art, which may have been influenced in their origin by the long established basket-work of these islands, such as the early enamelling of metals, the Norman arcades (especially those found on the earliest fonts), the branching arrangement of the oldest window glass, as well as the reticulated manner of placing glazing quarries, and numerous varieties of mediæval diapering. But I omit further notice of these. My purpose in this paper is merely to call attention to the probable origin of one branch of ancient art, which I believe to have escaped previous notice. If I have in any degree established my position, or even excited curiosity respecting it, it will doubtless induce further inquiry and discussion, since it is, beyond doubt, a subject of considerable interest.

ON TREASURE TROVE.

BY GEORGE VERE IRVING, ESQ.

THERE are few archæologists who have not had occasion to lament the obstacles to the advancement of antiquarian science, which arise from the present state of the law as to “treasure trove”; and more especially from its tendency to encourage the concealment and destruction of objects of historical interest. The annoyance and irritation produced by the often irreparable loss of objects, the importance of which in elucidating the manners and customs of our ancestors cannot be too highly estimated, have led not only to a general condemnation of the existing state of the law, but to a very common feeling among archæologists that the right of the Crown to “treasure trove” should be abolished. Recently, however, a doubt has arisen in the minds of several eminent antiquaries, whether this is not going too far. Admitting most fully the defects of the existing law, they have begun to suspect that the feeling produced by them has created an undue prejudice against this branch of the Royal prerogative. It does not appear to them that the right of “treasure trove” is the *sole* cause of the loss and destruction of the valuable objects referred to, and consequently they are not prepared to consider its abrogation as an efficient remedy for the evils complained of; while a conviction has gradually dawned upon them that the retention by the Crown of its right, under such well-advised regulations as the enlightened knowledge of the present age may suggest, is, after all, the course most calculated to ensure the preservation of objects of antiquarian and historical interest, and to promote the true interests of archæological science.

Lord Talbot de Malahide having given notice of his intention to bring the question of “treasure trove” before the legislature during the ensuing session, the present appears to be a most appropriate time for the discussion of a matter so intimately connected with the objects of this Association. I therefore propose to lay before you, in the following paper,—

1. A short sketch of the history of the law of “treasure trove”, and its present state both in this country and in Scotland.

2. A statement of the evils which result from this, with their probable causes; and

3. An examination of the amendments and remedies which have been suggested.

I. In the Civil or Roman law the state, as such, never had any right to *inventus thesaurus*, or “treasure trove”. Up to a comparatively late period, the property in such discoveries was a matter of dispute,—the opinions of juriconsults having fluctuated between the claims of two conflicting titles to them, arising from what were known as the natural modes of acquiring *dominium* or property, viz., the right of the finder, derived from the maxim, *quod sit nullius fit occupantis*; and that of the owner of the land in which they were found, under what was designated the *jus accessionis*. A decree of the emperor Hadrian, however, ultimately settled the matter by a compromise. By this, half the value of any hidden treasure was given to the finder, and the other half to the owner of the land in which it was discovered. The claim of the finder to a share was, however, confined to the case in which the discovery was accidental. Where he went purposely to search in the land of another, without knowledge of the latter, he was punishable as a *temerator*, and the sole property in the treasure recovered became vested in the owner of the land. This continued to be the law until the great change in the principles of property introduced by the establishment of the feudal system.

Before, however, leaving the Roman code, it is of some importance to ascertain what was meant in that law by *inventus thesaurus*, and to what kind of property the term was applied. It is abundantly clear that it was strictly confined to property the owner of which it was no longer possible to find; but beyond this I am convinced that there was no restriction, and that it embraced all moveables of whatever description. In fact, the word *thesaurus* was used in its original Greek sense; and this, we learn from our best lexicons, embraced all valuable things hoarded up, as opposed to *χρηματα*, which were the same things in use: or, to quote Vinius (*In Inst.*, lib. 2, t. i, § 39): “*Thesaurus, Græcis et Latinis idem est quod Persiis gaza; nimirum quælibet divitiæ quas in futurum asservamus aut recondimus.*” I am perfectly aware that many commentators, including the great names of Voet and Grotius, have given to *thesaurus inventus* a much narrower meaning, viz., *vetus depositio pecuniæ*. There can be no doubt, however, that this is founded on a rather loose passage of Paulus, preserved in the *Pundects* (lib. 41, t. i, § 31), as follows: “*Thesaurus est vetus quædam depositio pecuniæ, cujus non extat memoria, ut jam dominum non habeat. . . . Aloquin si quis aliquid vel lucri causa vel metus vel custodias condiderit sub terra. Non est thesaurus cujus etiam furtum sit.*” Now it is clear that here the main object of the writer is to point out the distinction between articles, the owner of which cannot be traced; and those which the person who had hid them appears and claims, in which case they were clearly not “treasure trove”. Writing loosely, he, in the first branch of his sentence, specifies what was, in those days, undoubtedly the most valuable object of treasure, and which, as such, might consequently stand as a representative of it; while

in the second he uses a more general term,—and this without any intention of drawing a distinction between *pecunia* and *aliquid*; which would be inconsistent with a passage in a subsequent part of the same book of the *Pandects* (41, § 63, t. iv), where *pecunia* is used as the *price* of a *thesaurus* which had been sold by the finder: and still more so with the rescript of the emperor Leo, which forms the 15th title of the 10th book of the Code, and expressly declares, “*thesaurum, id est condita ab ignotis dominis tempore vetustiori MOBILIA.*”

The feudal polity, as I have already hinted, introduced a totally new principle as the foundation of the rights of property. It entirely ignored what in prior systems of jurisprudence were known as the natural modes of acquiring ownership, and substituted for them a highly artificial theory, which vested in the king the radical title to all property, whether heritable or movable. In Scotland and most of the other kingdoms of Europe this feudal system was adopted in its full strictness and integrity. In their jurisprudence this change at once placed the law of “treasure trove” on a footing which combined in the crown the rights both of the finder, and of the owner of the land where the discovery was made. The title of the former was swept away by the substitution of the maxim, “*quod sit nullius fit domini regis*”, for the older one of, “*fit occupantis*”; while that of the latter was simultaneously destroyed by the principle that the original *dominium* of all land was in the king, and the rule that his grants to subject vassals included nothing but what was specially mentioned in their charters, with the strictly-defined accessories thereof. Under this system there can be no doubt that, in Scotland, every movable article, the original owner of which cannot be discovered, belongs to the crown. In common parlance we certainly have come to use “treasure trove” as a term confined to articles fabricated from the precious metals of gold and silver; but the words have never been incorporated in our technical legal phraseology. They would not be employed by the crown in any action it might bring to enforce its rights. Thus, for instance, a case occurred in 1810, where a wharfinger sold some flax consigned to him for default of an owner; and the crown claimed the price. Its right to all property which had no owner was emphatically admitted by the court, although, in the particular circumstances, they repelled the claim on the ground that sufficient time had not elapsed since the flax was deposited to render it a *res nullius*. The only side on which any restriction could possibly arise, would be on that of the landlord; and this on the ground that certain movable articles had, by the connexion created between them and the ground, assumed an heritable character, and become accessories to the rights conveyed to him by his charters. Mr. Rhind, of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, in the able essay¹ with which he lately presented this Association, and to which I

¹ The Law of Treasure Trove. Edinb., 1858: 8vo.

shall immediately have to refer more fully, has stated a case of this kind with all the modesty so becoming in an unprofessional person, and yet with an ingenuity which would do honour to many of the long robe.

“The owner of the soil would doubtless be surprised if he were told that a cairn on his land was the property of no one, and the Queen’s Remembrancer would probably decline undertaking to define it as a *res nullius*. Now the landlord desires to build, and the cairn offers a convenient quarry. Tier by tier the ancient landmark is pulled in pieces. Presently the central cist is reached; and as it does not seem contemplated that any one can step between the landowner and his right to use the sides of this outer coffin of stone as lintels or gate posts, why may he not knock the bottom out of the inner coffin of baked earth the urn and convert it into a chimney pot for his cottage; turn the bronze celts, if any, to use in securing the rafters; and embed the flint arrowheads in plaster to form a zigzag ornament over the fireplace?”¹

This case, in itself, really raises no question, because such articles as urns, celts, and arrowheads found in a tumulus are so clearly and essentially movable in their nature that they could never be supposed to be accessories of the heritable rights conveyed by the crown’s charter of the lands, but it suggests others on which the nicest points of law might arise. Chiefly, indeed, as to altars and other carved and engraved stones, which from their geological structure could not originally have formed part of the freehold, and yet may have subsequently become, in many known ways, so intimately connected with it as to assume the character of accessories of the feudal subject. Such instances are, however, rare, and the feelings of the landlords in Scotland are so changed since the days when the “*Gothic Knight*” pulled down Arthur’s Oven to build a mill dam, that I am certain they would at once waive such doubtful and conjectural private rights in favour of any general system for the preservation of the national antiquities.

In England, however, the law is very different. There, the feudal system was never more than partially adopted, and in consequence the rights of the crown are much more limited. The maxim *quod sit nullius fit occupantis* is still the general rule as to *bona vaccantia*, but it has been modified in certain instances, where the law has given them to the king. All these instances have been, however, most accurately defined, in accordance with the strict rules of pleading which have formed so praiseworthy a characteristic of English jurisprudence. Among these exceptions to the general rule, “treasure trove” is one of the most important, but, like all the others, it is most strictly limited. Since the days of Coke it has been restricted to *money or coin, gold, silver, plate, or bullion, found hidden in the earth or other private place, the owner thereof being unknown*. At an earlier period I suspect that the right of the

¹ Rhind, p. 7.

crown was more extensive, for Bracton states, lib. iii., ch. 3, § 4, *est autem Thesaurus quedam vetus depositio pecuniæ VEL ALTERIUS METALLI*. And we have in Glanvil and the treatises Quoniam Attachiamenta and Regiam Majestatem, which, although spurious fabrications as Scottish authorities, are now known to be imitations, more or less accurate, of the great work of the Chief Justice of Henry II, the still more emphatic words, *aliquod genus metalli*. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that since the period I have named the right of "treasure trove" has been confined exclusively to articles composed of the precious metals. This is stated in the most express terms by Lord Coke (2nd Institute, p. 577), "Nothing is said to be treasure trove but *gold and silver*."

The Association had, some two years ago, the pleasure of hearing from our esteemed associate, Mr. Temple, the Chief Justice of Honduras, a most learned argument as to what was included in Lord Coke's definition of "treasure trove." As this most able paper has not yet appeared in the *Journal*¹ (I am afraid in consequence of neglect on my own part), I hope I may be excused if I now shortly recapitulate its contents, pointing out, at the same time, wherein I differ from the conclusions of my learned friend. After noticing the remarkable fact that in all the long series of reports there is not a single decision on the law of "treasure trove," Mr. Temple proceeded to examine the definition of Lord Coke, which he divided most properly into two heads. 1st, what is the nature of the objects which fall under "treasure trove," and 2nd, what are the conditions under which they do so? Under his first head, after quoting the words "money or coin, gold, silver, plate, or bullion," he observed that there could be no doubt as to money or coin what they were. He then defined bullion as unmanufactured gold and silver, and plate as *vessels and utensils of the same metals*, and finally contended that *rings, chains, bracelets, breastplates, helmets, and collars of gold* could fall under neither term, because, although manufactured, they were not *vessels nor utensils*. To this I am inclined to demur, for although the articles enumerated would probably in old inventories be classed rather as jewels than as plate, yet the latter word has in our best dictionaries a much wider signification than that he has given to it, viz., *wrought metal*, which would be amply sufficient to include them.

Mr. Temple next alluded to a class of articles in which the precious metals form only a part of the fabric; such as embroidered silks, inlaid armour, and, what is perhaps of more importance, ornaments in which the precious stones are really the element of value; all of which, he contended, were beyond the right of the Crown. My own opinion is, that in such cases the article must be viewed as a whole, and that its owner-

¹ It will be found following this paper.

ship would be determined by the comparative value of its materials, the principal carrying the less as an accessory. In general, however, I believe Mr. Temple to be correct; and I am happy to have it in my power to cite, in support of his views, a solitary case on "treasure trove" which has escaped his researches. It is that of *Armory v. Delamirie*, in Sir John Strange's *Reports*, p. 505. The plaintiff, a chimney-sweep, found a jewel, and carried it to the shop of the defendant, who was a goldsmith, to know what it was. The stones were taken out, on the pretence of weighing them; and the defendant offered 1½*d.* for it. This the chimney-sweep refused, and demanded the thing back, on which he had handed to him the socket without the stones. He then raised his action of trover; and the court held that, as the finder, he was entitled to have back the stones, or, if they could not be found, others of the best water that would fit the socket. It is true that the crown did not appear in the case, but it was clearly *pars judicis* in the King's judges to have adverted to this, if they conceived that the comparatively small portion of gold in the setting gave the Crown a right to the entire jewel.

Under the second head of the conditions attending the discovery, Mr. Temple pointed out that the treasure must have been "*hidden in the earth, or other private place, the owner thereof being unknown*". He then adverted to Blackstone's *Commentary*, where, after noting the presumption that, where anything is found on the surface of the earth, it had not been hidden, that learned author proceeds to lay down the following as the principles on which the rule is founded; viz., that where a man hides a thing, he intends to reclaim it; but where he throws it away, his intention is to abandon his property, and return it into the common stock. Founding on this, Mr. Temple put forward several most ingenious cases, as, for example, a treasure may have been originally dropped on the surface of the ground, and have become buried in the course of time by the alluvial deposits of a stream or river, or by the growth of mosses and turbaries, in which case he held, and perhaps not erroneously, that it could not be considered "treasure trove". The important question, however, is, on whom does the *onus probandi* lie in such a case? Will the fact of the treasure being found buried throw on the finder the proof that this was not its original condition, or must the Crown in all cases establish that it had been intentionally concealed, with a view to reclamation? If the latter be the rule, the difficulties in the way of enforcing the right would in almost every case be so enormous that, practically, it would be most limited indeed.

I am afraid, however, that here Blackstone is no safe guide. That learned author has been most unfortunate in his treatment of the subject of "treasure trove". The passage we have referred to occurs on p. 295; but there is another on p. 299, in which it is stated that all *bona vacantia* belong to the Crown. The two are manifestly inconsistent,

and the latter is inaccurate as far as English law is concerned. Independent, however, of this, there can be little doubt that attempts to account on abstract principles for rules of law that have been the growth of custom, are more often calculated to mislead than otherwise; and I shall now endeavour to shew that this is the case in the instance before us. The rule itself merely refers to the concealment, and has not only no mention of intention, but no allusion to the person by whom the concealment was effected. Blackstone imports into it not only the intention of reclamation, but the supposition that the treasure was hidden by its owner.

1st. As to intention. There are undoubted instances of "treasure trove" where there can be no intention of reclamation. The Crown has again and again enforced its right to coins and other valuables found in sepulchral tumuli. Now, although these were purposely interred, there was no intention to reclaim them, but rather the contrary. On the other hand, property may not have been concealed, but dropped or thrown away, and yet there may have been no *animus relinquendi*. If a man wantonly scatters his treasure upon the public surface of the earth, his intention is probably to abandon it; but how of accidental loss? how of articles thrown away to expedite flight, under the effect of mortal terror? In the latter case, there may or may not be an intention of relinquishment. Horace probably had no intention to reclaim his *parma non bene relicta*; but instances have been not unfrequent where persons have returned to search for their property after the storm of war had passed, and the compulsion was at an end. I do not assert that, in cases where things were thrown away without the intention of relinquishing them, they become "treasure trove", but merely advert to these as showing how imperfectly the principle of intended reclamation can explain the rules on the subject. I may also take the opportunity of referring to the statement of Blackstone, that the reason why things found *upon* the earth are not "treasure trove", is because they were not hidden; for this is unsatisfactory, because the fact of things being found on the surface, though it may raise a *presumptio juris* that they were not hidden, can never create a *presumptio juris et de jure*. There is often no place more favourable for concealment than a tangled thicket; and, except the positive statement of the institutional writers, I have never seen any cause why such a locality should not fall under the term *other private places* in the rule.

2nd. As to the supposition that the treasure was hidden by the owner. I do not here intend to raise any question about concealment by servants or others, who might probably be held to represent the proprietor. I refer to a much broader matter. I ask, is there anything in the rule which excludes concealment by the hand, not of man, but of God? Take such an instance, for example, as Pompeii, where a whole city was at

once buried by the visitation of the Almighty, and so completely concealed that the knowledge of its site was entirely lost, and only accidentally discovered after the lapse of centuries; yet can any one doubt the right of the Crown to the treasures found within the walls of such a city? I think not.

In concluding this branch of my subject, I have to advert to an error into which there is often a tendency to fall, in connexion with the words *the owner thereof being unknown*; namely, to suppose that, because the original owner can be named, the right of "treasure trove" is barred. This is a mistake. The words refer to the *present, not the original owner*. Here Pompeii again furnishes us with an apt illustration. From inscriptions or other evidence, it may be ascertained that a particular house, and of course the treasures contained in it, belonged to an individual of the name of Diomede. Here you have the original owner; but the right to "treasure trove" is not barred, unless existing heirs of Diomede can now be found.

II. I now proceed to that painful subject, the injury inflicted on archæological science by the present state of the law. Though there are few archæologists who are not to a certain extent aware of this, I doubt whether there are many who are fully sensible of the magnitude of the evil. No one who takes the smallest interest in antiquarian research but must recollect instances where objects of the utmost historical value have been destroyed, for the value of the metal of which they were composed; the melting-pot of the refiner being the readiest means of annihilating their identity, and ensuring to the finder a profit, often a most inadequate one, for his good luck in discovering them. Such instances are, however, no measure of the extent to which the interests of archæology are injured. Even where the objects are preserved in their integrity by the diligence of collectors or the keen scent of the dealers in such curiosities, they necessarily lose the greater portion of their value by the silence as to the place of their discovery, which must be maintained, in order to protect their acquisition from the claim of the Crown. To this Association I am sure I need not explain that the mere collection of specimens of the manufactures of our ancestors is not the true object of archæology. So far as it goes, it is well enough; but the science of archæology aims at something higher than the mere collection of articles of Bric Brac, which, even in its highest development, cannot amount to more than the agglomeration of materials for a museum of design, and which in many cases sinks to a much lower level, well justifying the sarcasm of Burns—

"He has a fouth o' auld nick nackets,
Rusty airn caps, and jinglin jackets,
Wad haud the Lothians three in tackets,
A towmount guid."

True scientific archæology, on the contrary, is the sister of history, and to its follower the main interest of these objects is the light they throw not only on the state of manufacturing ingenuity among our forefathers, but on their acts and deeds, their wars, their peregrinations,—in one word, on their *history*. In this investigation, the locality in which the articles are found is of vital importance, and the forced concealment of information as to this consequently strikes a heavy blow against the progress of the science.

Varied, however, as may be the modes in which archæology suffers from the present state of the law of “treasure trove,” there can be no doubt that they are all in a great measure owing to the fact that our modern laws, unlike the great and wise jurisprudence of Rome, entirely ignore any right or interest in the finder. There are certain ideas of right which are so thoroughly engrained in the mind of every man that they cannot be eradicated by any artificial system of law, or repressed by any legislative enactment, however stringent. Under the immediate pressure of some danger there may be a general consent to waive them for a time, but the moment this is passed the natural feeling again creeps out. Men’s ideas revert to their normal state, and the enactments made to meet the temporary difficulty are either repealed or they are systematically evaded. If this is the case even among the more educated classes, who may be expected to take a wider and more enlightened view of ultimate results, how much more powerfully does the feeling act on the more ignorant masses, with whom the individual right has much more, and the public general interest much less force; and yet it is by members of this latter class that the discoveries which interest us are almost invariably made. Among the rights which thus rest upon the great and immutable foundation of the constitution of the human mind, that of the acquisition of property by discovery holds the most prominent place. The words placed by Scott in the mouth of his world-famous Blue-gown, “Nae halvers or quarters. Hale o’ mine ain, and nane o’ my neighbour’s,” may be heard any day in the playgrounds of our Scottish schools, and in correlative terms in those of England, indicating the universal feeling among those too young to know anything of legal enactments or the Royal rights. The interest of the Crown, or rather of the nation, in articles of “treasure trove” is evidently not of that patent and pressing character that would palpably and at once ride over this. We cannot, therefore, be surprised if we find the uneducated peasantry evading the law in regard to it. Were this all, however, one might look to their better instruction in the course of time. But the case is very different when we find that the most highly educated classes are prepared to acknowledge the right of the finder, in spite of any artificial law to the contrary;—when we see men of the highest honour, who would shrink from a cup of Cellini’s if offered them by a burglar as

from an accursed thing, ready to purchase from the finder articles which they cannot for a moment doubt are the property of the Crown under the law of "treasure trove." I am no casuist, and give no opinion whether this be right or wrong; but this I do say, that under these circumstances the present artificial state of the law cannot be maintained, and that to ensure the preservation of the objects in which we all take so deep an interest, no enactment will be sufficient which does not acknowledge the natural right of the finder. This at once brings me to my third head.

III. The remedies proposed. These, as I have already hinted, may be divided into two distinct classes, one of which contemplates the entire abrogation of the Crown's right to "treasure trove," while the other, founded on the idea that the interests of archæology will be promoted more effectually by the extension rather than the diminution of the right, looks to the amendment of the rules which regulate its enforcement. Although this latter class of suggestions appears at first sight to be limited to practical alterations in the working of the existing law, they in reality embrace a total change of the principles on which the Royal right is founded, and a complete alteration of the objects which it aims at securing. When "treasure trove" was introduced, there can be no doubt that the aim of the executive in enforcing it was to increase the ordinary revenue of the Crown by appropriating to the general national fund the pecuniary value or price of the articles recovered. More particularly so in England, where, as Blackstone states, the principal object of its originators was to obtain an adequate supply of the precious metals for the purposes of the Royal Mint. If those ancient ideas of the purposes of the right of "treasure trove" were still maintained, it is obvious that its existence must always be an obstacle to the progress of archæological science and to preservation of the articles with which it deals, for the melting pot of the Royal Mint would be as destructive of these as that of the private refiner. A great change has, however, occurred in the national opinion as to the importance of the objects of antiquarian research and their true value as historical memorials, independent of and infinitely greater than the intrinsic one of their materials. To this enlightened feeling the executive has of late years most properly given its due weight, by adopting the practice of depositing in the national collections all articles recovered under the right of "treasure trove" which possess archæological interest. It is on the foundation of this change of opinion that the class of amendments to which I refer are proposed. Their advocates, among whom I may rank myself, contend—*That it is now a recognized duty on the part of every enlightened government to preserve the ancient historical records of the country, and present them to the public in such accessible form, and under such an arrangement, as may best promote the labours of the student and scientific inquirer.*

As far as the written materials for British history are concerned, the

principle has been not only admitted but acted upon, and the publications now issuing from the press under the auspices of the Master of the Rolls leave nothing to be desired on this head. The case has, however, been very different with those remains of our ancestors which form the great *unwritten records* of the national history. It is only lately that their importance has been acknowledged, and although a beginning has been effected, but slight progress has been made in forming a national collection of them. The same principle, however, applies to the unwritten as to the written records, and the public interest as much demands a complete, scientifically arranged, and easily accessible collection of the one as of the other. This, however, can manifestly only be effected by the national executive, and it is therefore the duty of the legislature to furnish it with every facility for the acquisition of the necessary objects. To effect this purpose, no course appears better adapted than a judicious extension of the existing right of "treasure trove," accompanied by well considered regulations to ensure its beneficial operation. On the other hand, it seems more than doubtful whether the abrogation of the right, while it impaired the action of the executive, would have the effect of promoting the interests of archaeological science, or removing the evils resulting from the present state of the law.

In the first place, it is by no means clear that it is the fear of a claim by the Crown which has been the sole or even the general motive which has induced ignorant persons, as the finders of antiquarian reliques usually are, to conceal or destroy them. On this point, Mr. Rhind most pertinently remarks from his personal experience,—“The finder is commonly a labourer or small cottar, probably in an out of the way district. He may or may not know of the Royal right, but he has an impression that the landlord might require possession to be ceded to him, or he wishes to keep the matter quiet so as to have a hopeful search all to himself in the vicinity of the lucky spot, or he has the natural feeling not to publish his piece of good fortune any more than he would proclaim the amount of his deposit in the Savings’ Bank, or the little hoard in the corner of his chest.” My own knowledge of the peasantry in a very extensive district inclines me to believe that this is the case, and that in most instances there is no knowledge of the Crown’s claim to “treasure trove.” The following fact is also most significant that, in England, where the Royal right is confined to gold and silver, the lamentable destruction and concealment of valuable archaeological remains have not been confined to those composed of the precious metals, but have extended to others, such as urns, etc., to which the Crown never had the smallest claim. It may be true that in many cases the concealment did not arise from any wish to profit by the appropriation, but from entire ignorance that the objects were of any value at all; to admit this, how-

ever, is to acknowledge that there are other difficulties in the way of the preservation of antiquities than the apprehensions of a claim under the Royal right. Looking to the amount of this ignorance, and the very small impression made upon it by all the exertions of our learned societies, I would further ask when the alteration of the law and the abrogation of the right of "treasure trove" might be expected to become generally known among the classes where the danger really lies. No one will venture a conjecture who has remarked the period which elapses before new laws affecting the daily transactions of life penetrate thoroughly into the mass of the population.

In the second place, the effect of the abrogation of "treasure trove" would be to foster the interests of private collections in opposition to those of the public. Yet there can be no doubt that the efforts of private collectors will always be found imperfect as "a means of obtaining possession of, and adding to, *one* elaborate series for scientific study and public instruction, *every* object illustrative of the archæology of the county where it was exhumed"; and that this, the great desideratum of the science, will never be obtained except by the resources of a great national museum. On this head Mr. Rhind remarks: "The most deplorable fate which can overtake these vestiges of antiquity is, of course, destruction or loss; the next worst is their falling into private hands, where their ultimate safety must always be precarious, and where, even in the rare instances in which their teaching is appreciated, and turned to good scientific account, they may be accessible only to a few with difficulty or prohibitory trouble, on account of the locality of the owner's dwelling,—however liberally disposed he may be,—and with limited or no facilities, from the absence of surrounding correlatives, for forming a comparative estimate of their peculiarities."

To many who are acquainted with the extensive character and scientific arrangement of some of our leading private collections, this language may appear at first to be much too strong; but a little reflection will soon convince them that it is anything but an exaggeration. Much as we may admire the achievements of individual exertion in these collections, is there one of them which, even in those branches which have been the favourite study of its owner, anything like approaches to our idea of what a national collection should be? Then again how few, indeed, are the instances in which such collections occur! It would scarcely be too much to say that one could count on his fingers the total collections in England that are really worthy of the name; on the other hand, it would be almost impossible to enumerate the names of all who have articles of antiquarian interest in their possession, while the number of objects held by each individual does not average half-a-dozen at the utmost. Is it possible to exaggerate the obstacles which this dispersion presents to the student of archæology? We can only compare it

with the case of the historian if he had to search through the whole libraries, both public and private, of the country for his materials, and should find, not whole works, but a single page or two in each repository; it being, moreover, often uncertain from what place these were originally taken. Compare such a state of matters with the facilities afforded by the library of the British Museum, and you may realize the advantages which may reasonably be expected to arise from the organization of even an imperfect national collection of English antiquities. Neither is it possible to exaggerate the dangers to which archæological objects are exposed so long as they remain in private hands. It often seems impossible to account for the way in which articles in private collections, the existence of which was at one time well known among antiquaries, disappear without leaving a trace behind.

The mention of the dispersion of collections, on the death of their owners, leads me to notice, in the next place, what appears to me a marked inconsistency in the views of many who advocate the abrogation of the right of "treasure trove"; namely, that they are the first to censure the national trustees for failing to secure by purchase such collections as the Faussett Museum. I give no opinion as to the propriety or the reverse of the purchases referred to; I only point out that it is impossible to reconcile the wish that the articles of which these collections are composed should be secured to the National Museum by a large outlay, with an attempt to deprive the government of facilities for acquiring the identical articles in detail before they pass into these very collections, and to encourage their owners in competing for the possession of them with the national trustees; the result of such competition, if successful, being to deprive the public of the use and benefit of the articles during the life of the collector, or, at all events, during a number of years; in return for which injury, they are expected to purchase them secondhand, when their competitor has done with them, and that at a price much larger than that for which they could have been obtained had he not interfered. I am speaking more particularly of the future. We all know that the price of an article is enhanced proportionally by the number of hands through which it passes before it reaches what may be called its destination, in the cabinet of the private collector, or the cases of the National Museum. Now it is wonderful to what a very short distance the fame of even an eminent local collector spreads among the labouring classes around him. It is, therefore, obvious that, in most cases, private collectors must trust to obtain their acquisitions by the agency of a greater or less number of middle men intervening between them and the finder, thus necessarily raising the price they pay for it, and at the same time creating a great risk of confusion and error in the information as to the locality and circumstances of the original discovery. If "treasure trove" is to be abolished, and the Crown left in the mere position of a com-

peting purchaser, that position can be no better, and will probably be worse, than that in which a private collector would be placed under the circumstances. If, on the other hand, the legal right is retained, although necessarily modified by the recognition of an interest in the finder, the government has now at its disposal the most ready means of communicating directly with him. This agency, which can only be put in force to defend a right, and in no way to facilitate a voluntary purchase, is the police, the establishment of which, even in the most remote districts, has been made compulsory by recent Acts of Parliament. Independent of the ready and direct communication which this agency would without difficulty establish between the Crown and the finder, to the mutual benefit of both, the employment of that body in matters of "treasure trove" would have a most beneficial effect in frustrating those attempts at concealment which arise from other motives than the fear of having to cede the articles discovered without remuneration. In such cases, says Mr. Rhind, "let the finder do what he can, some rumour of the discovery will probably circulate in the neighbouring village or hamlet, which, under a proper method of supervision, might perhaps reach ears that could turn it to good account, but which, with the free-trade system, would speedily die away fruitless, as no one, even if he chanced to be a person that cared, could insist upon answers to inquiries."

On these grounds, I have for some time felt convinced that the remedial course which would be found most conducive to the true ends and real interests of archæology, must be founded on the principle of the regulation, not the abrogation, of the right of "treasure trove"; and in this I am the more confirmed by the fact that a system strictly analogous has been introduced in Denmark, with a success which has rendered the national collection of antiquities at Copenhagen the first in Europe.

I now proceed to examine as briefly as possible the details which must be attended to in framing a legislative measure to carry out this principle. In doing so, I shall largely avail myself of the suggestions and even the words of the regulations proposed in the pamphlet of Mr. Rhind, to whom we are indebted for the first attempt to put the matter into a practical shape. I shall not, however, follow these *seriatim* and *verbatim*, for this reason, that I think their arrangement can be improved, and I do not always entirely approve of the exact expression used; independent of which, I am afraid that the subject has not as yet in all parts received that full consideration which will be required before our suggestions can safely assume the form of a parliamentary bill.

1st. *As to what should be included under the extended right of the public to "treasure trove".* In Scotland, as we have seen, the existing law is sufficient to embrace all that is desired. In England, however, it is different: there the definition of the articles of "treasure trove" is so limited as to exclude many objects of vast antiquarian interest, which

are at present liable to injury or destruction from ignorance, carelessness, and other causes. The preservation of these, and their deposit in the national collection, is of vital importance to the progress of archæology; but it is extremely difficult to frame any description of them which will secure this without going too far. The phrase, "objects of antiquarian interest", is undoubtedly too wide; but it is not easy to see where the limit should be drawn. It has occurred to me that a distinction might be made with reference to the period when, by the general introduction of written records, these unwritten memorials cease to possess the same interest in regard to history that they bore in the earlier ages. I am not, however, sufficiently acquainted with the technical legal phraseology of England as to be in the position to offer a definite opinion, and therefore leave this point to the consideration of those of our associates who belong to the English bar.

There is also another point which may create difficulty both in this country and Ireland, viz., the fact that the Crown has, within certain limited districts, conveyed its right of "treasure trove" to private individuals. Being ignorant of the extent of these manorial rights, I must also refer the consideration of this matter to my learned brethren.

2. *The officers to whom the administration of the right should be confided.* At present, the Queen's remembrancers in exchequer have, in their respective divisions of the kingdom, the control of this matter, and there appears no reason to interfere with them. Under them we have in Scotland the sheriffs and their officers, known as procurator-fiscals. Similar functions were formerly discharged by the coroners in England. I do not know whether the alteration of the law, by which deodands were abolished, has rendered this portion of their duties inconsistent with the present position of the coroners or not. If it be so, however, a ready substitute would be found in the recently appointed head constables. All that would be required to put these officers into proper action would be a direction from the home secretary, "That they shall exercise systematically the ordinary vigilance of their office for the recovery of all relics found in their districts, and *immediately* transmit to the remembrancer any antiquities recovered by them, accompanied by a distinct specification of the precise localities where, and (when possible with accuracy) of the circumstances under which they were found." As, however, the districts in which these officers act are too extensive for the matter to be left to the result of information given personally to themselves, they must be furnished with subordinate assistance, and for this purpose no agency can be conceived more economical or better adapted for the purpose, than that of the recently established police. It would, therefore, be most proper to authorize the district officers "to direct the county police to attend to any rumours of such discoveries, however trivial, which may reach them in the course of their perambulations; to make

all due inquiry, as in cases within the usual routine of their duty, and report to the district officers accordingly." I am aware that the word "police" may grate harshly on the ears of many who hear me; but I would beg these gentlemen to remember that the duties of a county policeman, under the recent acts, are not solely those of a detective, but extend, in numerous cases, to ministerial acts which have no connexion whatever with criminal justice. Indeed, I confess that it is to this employment of the police, that I, in a great measure, look as the means by which the new system will work beneficially. From the nature of their other duties, no men are more likely to obtain information of the discovery of antiquarian objects, especially in remote districts. No men, again, have it in their power to circulate so widely among the class to which finders usually belong, the knowledge of an alteration of the law, which ensures them remuneration for their discoveries. They afford an easy and trustworthy mode of direct communication between the finder and the higher officials, combined with opportunities for the careful transmission of the objects discovered; while their experience in the investigation of evidence renders them well qualified to furnish the superior officers with the accurate materials for the reports on locality, and which have been already referred to. Independent, moreover, of these considerations, I can confidently state, from long experience as a magistrate, that attention to this matter will, under ordinary circumstances, in no way interfere with their other duties; and, therefore, that no agency less expensive could possibly be suggested.

3. *The disposal of the objects recovered.* As to this, Mr. Rhind suggests that the following provision should be enacted:—"That the Queen's remembrancer shall at once hand all relics to the National Museum, along with the original or copy of the district officers' report; except in the case of a large hoard of *duplicate* coins, when a selection of the best may only be given to the Museum, but accompanied as before by the district officers' report, and by a correct classified list of the whole number discovered." I am, however, inclined to modify both branches of this regulation. In the first place, I am afraid that there are still distinctions and jealousies between the three great divisions of the United Kingdom that would render it prudent, if not necessary, to divide the national collection into an English, Irish, and Scotch branch, to be located respectively in the metropolis of each country. In the second, I am not disposed to limit the regulation as to duplicates to coins exclusively. At the same time I must admit that these duplicates occur much more rarely than one would at first sight suppose. There is much truth in Mr. Rhind's observation—"That these primitive products of human handiwork, unlike the other chief constituents of museums, which come from the great laboratory of the Creator, cannot without constant risk of confusion be dealt with as duplicates." Inde-

pendent of which, even where the types are identical, there is, as I have already shown, the important element of the locality of discovery. In fact there are no true duplicates, unless where two articles precisely the same are found in the same hoard. So difficult, indeed, is this question that I demur to leaving the decision of it in the hands of the Queen's remembrancer, without the scientific assistance which is provided for him under the next section. I, however, most cordially agree with the provision for the preservation in the national museums of the complete written record of the entire find.

4. *The provisions for protecting the interests of the finder.*

The importance of this point I have already enlarged upon, and, except in one particular, I see no reason to object to the rules proposed¹ by Mr. Rhind, viz. :—

1. That the actual finders (as distinguished from the owners of the ground or employers as such) shall be entitled to receive at least the full *bullion value* of the relics when of precious metal, and *more* when the objects are of remarkable interest, or special circumstances recommend such a course. That for antiquities of other substances the finders shall be entitled to a *fair compensation*, to be determined, as will also be the amount of any reward in excess of bullion value, by the Queen's remembrancer, with the assistance of the secretaries of the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Irish Academy, and the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, in England, Ireland, and Scotland, respectively.

2. That when the finders of antiquities shall voluntarily and speedily deposit them in the hands of the district officer or constable, or shall intimate their discoveries to them with a like intent, they shall be entitled to higher compensation than under circumstances of ordinary detection; and that in cases of stubborn denial, concealment, or attempted destruction, after inquiries have been instituted by the district officer, the finders shall sacrifice their *right* to the bullion value, the amount of any remuneration that they may get being determined, according to the circumstances, by the Queen's remembrancer, with his assessor, while in aggravated cases entire forfeiture will ensue.

3. That all payments to finders of antiquities shall be made *with the least possible delay*.

The particular on which I express a doubt is whether the second rule is, under all circumstances, sufficiently stringent, as I can conceive cases so bad as clearly to bring the concealment under that class of crimes which are known in England as misdemeanours.

I may here shortly advert to some objections which may be popularly raised against these rules :—

1st. The expense which would be entailed on the nation. If, however, we once admit that it is a duty of government to preserve articles

¹ Rhind, p. 20 et seq.

of this class, this objection vanishes, as there can be no doubt that this is the cheapest way in which they can be acquired. Again, the expense would probably be much less than is supposed. New discoveries of value are not of frequent occurrence. Mr. Rhind considers four instances in each county of Scotland as a very high average (I should call it a most exaggerated one), and estimates the annual outlay for the whole of that kingdom at £50, which perhaps is low enough. At all events, £500 would be amply sufficient for the United Kingdom, except in the case of some extraordinary discovery. The best answer to this objection, however, is, that what a small and comparatively poor kingdom like Denmark can afford, ought never to be grudged by a large and opulent one like England.

2nd. That there may be a difficulty in fixing a fair compensation, and the supposition that finders might expect such fancy prices as competing amateurs give in the sale-rooms of Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson. The answer to this is, that the prices referred to are entirely owing to competition and the intervention of middle men; and that a moderate sum, to say nothing of a liberal one, granted to a finder, although inferior to such prices, would be far above the remuneration he now gets, or could, under the present system, ever hope to obtain.

3rd. An apprehension is expressed that this systematic purchase of relics by the nation will encourage the fabrication and forgery of antiquities, which this Association has been so instrumental in exposing. Never was there a greater mistake. Such fabrications are entirely the offspring of unlimited competition, fostered by the power of concealing the precise locality of discovery. While such competition exists, amateur collectors, like the fanciers of the paintings of the old masters, must buy their knowledge; and there are always clever men ready to give them lessons in this respect. It would, however, take not only a consummate rogue, but a man of greater courage than is usually to be found in that class, to produce a fabrication with the specification of the place and date of discovery, all of which information will, he knows, be immediately sifted by an intelligent police-officer, and the fabrication, with its accompanying documents, laid before the most competent judges of the kingdom within a fortnight thereafter. Mark, too, the consequences of the discovery of the imposition. It would not be a mere exposure in our *Journal*, met by a threat of an action of damages against our leading members; but a quiet intimation from the aforesaid policeman to the forger that he was in custody on a charge of obtaining money under false pretences. The risk, in fact, would be so great that the attempt would never be thought of.

5th. Mr. Rhind suggests a rule as to giving these alterations of the law publicity; but there could be proposed no better means for this than placards and handbills posted and distributed by the rural police.

6th. It is certainly necessary to make some provision for cases where expensive excavations are made by individuals in the interest of science, where they have a natural interest in retaining the objects recovered by their skill and outlay. The following regulation of Mr. Rhind appears to balance very fairly the interests of the individual and the public in such circumstances: "That, by previous intimation to the Queen's remembrancer of an intention to undertake explorations at a specified place, any person legally authorized to excavate for remains, shall be entitled to retain whatever relics he may so discover, on condition of transmitting to the national authorities, within a month after the close of the excavation, a detailed list of the relics, with an account of the conditions under which they were brought to light. And further, that on requisition he permit the exhibition of the relics, if not too fragile; or, in the latter case, furnish an accurate drawing of the same."

I shall now conclude this long, and perhaps tedious, paper with two suggestions as to the management of the national collections.

1st. That the custodiers of these should be bound to publish annually, at a moderate price, a descriptive catalogue of all the additions (including specifications obtained under the preceding rule) made to the collection during the year, specifying the locality where each specimen was found, and illustrating the most interesting articles by engravings.

2nd. That the objects in the museum should have attached to them a notice of the locality in which they were discovered, and the *name of the finder*. Every one who has observed the pride and gratification with which a labouring man recognizes, in the national museum, any article which has passed through his hands, must feel convinced that this last provision would be a most powerful means of creating among this class an interest in antiquarian relics which would indirectly lead to their more careful preservation, and thus beneficially operate upon the progress of archæological science.

NOTES ON TREASURE TROVE.¹

BY ROBERT TEMPLE, ESQ., CHIEF JUSTICE OF HONDURAS.

“TREASURE TROVE” (*thesaurus inventus*) signifies, as the term implies, treasure found. But it signifies more than treasure merely found. It means a particular kind of treasure, and found under peculiar circumstances. It must be gold or silver; and it must have been designedly secreted or hidden, and not accidentally lost, or intentionally abandoned. The owner of it also must be unknown. Lord Coke defines “treasure trove” to be money or coin, gold, silver, plate, or bullion, found hidden in the earth or other private place, the owner thereof being unknown. (3rd Institute.) “Nothing is said to be ‘treasure trove’ but gold and silver.” (2nd Institute, p. 577.) “Formerly all ‘treasure trove’ belonged to the finder. Afterwards it was adjudged expedient, for the purposes of the state, and particularly for the coinage, to allow part of what was found to the King; which part was assigned to be all hidden treasures. Such as is casually lost and unclaimed, and also such as is designedly abandoned, still remaining the right of the fortunate finder.” (Viner’s *Abridgment*.) In a note to Cook’s *Institutes of Justinian*, p. 445, it is stated “that in Germany, France, Spain, Denmark, and England, ‘treasure trove’ is understood to be any gold or silver, in *coin*, *plate*, or *bullion*, which hath been of ancient time hidden.” In Comyn’s *Digest* it is said, “‘Treasure trove’ is when a man finds *coin* or *plate*, of gold or silver, the owner whereof is not known,—then it belongs to the King; but it is not said to be ‘treasure trove’ if it be other metal than gold or silver, or if it be found upon the land, and not underground, in a wall,” etc.

From the foregoing extracts, I understand “treasure trove” to be, first, gold and silver coin, or gold and silver plate or bullion; and secondly, that such gold and silver coin, plate, or bullion, has been designedly hidden, with the intention, on the part of the owner, when hiding it, to resume the possession of it on some future occasion.

With regard to the material. Precious stones would not come within the meaning of the term “treasure-trove”; neither would any kind of armour or costume, nor anything else, however valuable, if it were not gold or silver. It must be coin, or gold or silver plate or bullion. Bul-

¹ Communicated to the Association, June 10, 1857.

lion is defined to be "the ore or metal whereof gold is made, and signifies with us gold or silver in *billet*, in the mass before it is coined." It is, in fact, gold or silver in an unmanufactured state. Plate is defined to be "vessels and utensils of gold and silver". Now the question is, are rings, chains, bracelets, collars of gold, breastplates, helmets, and swords inlaid with gold, and costly robes of silk and velvet embroidered with gold, "treasure trove"? I think they are not. In the first place, they are not coin,—that is quite clear. Are they then bullion? We have seen that bullion is gold and silver in the mass,—gold and silver in an unmanufactured state,—gold and silver in bars and ingots. Rings, bracelets, and chains, will not then come within the meaning of the term bullion. Are they plate? Plate signifies "gold and silver vessels and utensils". Webster defines vessel to be "a cask or utensil proper for holding liquors and other things, as a tun, pipe, punchcon, hogshead, barrel, firkin, bottle, kettle, cup, dish, etc." Rings, bracelets, and chains, etc., can hardly be considered "utensils proper for holding liquors or other things." Webster defines utensil to be "an instrument which is used,—particularly an instrument or vessel used in a kitchen, or in domestic or farming business." A gold or silver hilted sword is an instrument; a seal, ring, a comb, gold spectacles, are instruments; but they are not, properly speaking, utensils,—which term can only be applied to such things as candlesticks, knives and forks, dish-covers, etc., etc. I contend, then, that all gold and silver are not necessarily "treasure trove."

It will be admitted that steel is not "treasure trove"; and that if I find a breastplate or sword, it will be my property, and that the crown cannot take it away from me, or injure it. But it may be so inlaid with, or otherwise combined with gold, that to separate the precious from the baser metal would be utterly to destroy the article. The cuirass or sword which I find is mine,—as a cuirass or sword, and not as a mere lump of steel. If I find a diamond or ruby ring, it is mine as a diamond or ruby *ring*, not merely as a diamond or ruby. I contend that where the principal thing consists of a material which is clearly not "treasure trove", and where gold or silver is only the adjunct, the adjunct would not be "treasure trove", because you cannot separate it from the principal without destroying it.

The next question is, what are the peculiar circumstances which bring found treasure within the meaning of the technical term "treasure trove"? It must be gold or silver coin, or gold or silver plate, or bullion, "found hidden in the earth, or other private place, the owner thereof being unknown." If found on the surface of the earth, or at the bottom of the sea or a river, it is not "treasure trove". It must have been secreted by the owner with the intention of recovering it at some future time. If it has been accidentally lost, or mislaid, or designedly abandoned, it is not

“treasure trove”. Suppose a purse of gold were found in the bed or the bank of a river, the fair and reasonable inference would be, that it had been accidentally lost there by the owner; for no person would deposit his wealth in such a place with a view of afterwards reclaiming it. Running streams, particularly when their course is sinuous, and their current is rapid, are perpetually changing their channel, from the shelving banks breaking down on one side, and alluvial deposits being made on the other; and therefore a purse of gold dropped in the water may, in the course of fifty or a hundred years, be found buried in the earth a considerable distance from it. If a purse of gold were found buried in some dark and secluded place in the midst of a forest, the inference certainly would be, that the owner had hidden it there, intending, on some future occasion, to resume the possession of it. That would undoubtedly be “treasure trove”. But suppose a purse of gold were to be found a little below the surface of the earth, on the side of a public road. It can hardly be supposed that any person in his senses would select such a locality to deposit his treasure, if he had any intention of reclaiming it. The presumption, I think, would be that he had lost it, and that it had got a covering of earth from rains and inundations. If a box of plate or coin should be discovered in some room in an old house, which for years had not been used nor frequented, such plate or coin could not be considered “treasure trove”, because there would be an absence of evidence to shew that the design of the owner was to secrete it for a time, with an intention of reclaiming it. Old plate might be put in a chest, and thrown by the owner into some lumber room,—not with a view of hiding it, but because not using, or not valuing it, he wished to put it out of the way. If this should be forgotten, and discovered a century afterwards, would it be “treasure trove”? *I think not.* But it would be different if it had been found built into the wall, or deposited under a flagstone in the cellar. In either of those cases there would be a clear evidence of design on the part of the owner to hide it. I think a distinction is to be drawn between putting treasure in a place for safe custody, and depositing it where it would be hidden from every eye. There is this difference between a thing which is hidden, and a thing which is put in a place of security. We do not know where the former is,—if we did we could easily get it. We know very well where the latter is,—but we *cannot* get it. The merchant locks up his bills and his banknotes in his strong box. We know that they are there; but the box is made of iron, and the locks defy the genius of a Hobbs. The cottager’s thrifty dame places her hardly-earned coins in an old stocking, which she hides under the thatch, or sews up in the bolster. To obtain it, nothing could be easier,—*if we knew where it was.*

If treasure should be found locked in a strong red oak chest, which had not been opened perhaps for centuries, the question whether or not

it would be "treasure trove" would depend upon circumstances. If the chest had evidently been hidden, had been placed where it was not likely to be observed, and where, in all probability, none but the owner would ever see it, then unquestionably it would be "treasure trove". But if the chest had been found in some portion of the house known by and accessible to others, although other persons might not have perceived it, I think the inference would be, that the treasure had been placed there for safe custody, and not for the sake of being hidden; and, therefore, that it would not be "treasure trove". A few years ago, being in Jamaica, I paid a visit to the Spanish captain-general's country residence, which was about two or three miles distant from Spanish Town, or, as it was formerly called, St. Iago de Vegga. It had been a small, but strong edifice, like most of the works of the old Spaniards; and the walls were so little decayed that, at a very little trouble and expense, it might have been restored to its original condition. In one of the rooms, lying upon the surface of the ground, there was a large rusty iron strong box. Moss had accumulated upon it, and the long grass waved around it, amongst which bright green and yellow lizards glanced and glittered in the tropical sun. In this position it had perhaps lain for centuries. In that same place it might have been when the owner of that castellated suburban dwelling left it, never to return. In that same place it might have been when, with a ponderous key, he turned the lock, and lifted up the heavy lid to deposit his gold doubloons, red from the metal of which they were made, but redder from the blood of murdered Indians with which they were stained. I attempted to open this rusty relic of Spanish domination, but it defied my efforts. The massive hinges and huge heavy clasps were too firmly fixed by the glue of antiquity to allow me to pry into the interior of that mysterious receptacle. But if I had succeeded in opening this strong box of the Spanish governors of Jamaica, and had found it full of money-bags,—supposing, I say, that it had been full of money, would that money have been "treasure trove"? I do not think it would, because there was no evidence whatever of its having been hidden by the owner with an intention of one day recovering it.

About twenty years ago the vicarage house of Ormesby, in Yorkshire, required reparation. The incumbent, a poor man with a large family, had just died, and a new one had been inducted. The living was worth £250 per annum. In order to make the required repairs, it was necessary to borrow a sum of money from Queen Anne's bounty fund; this had been done, and the work was commenced. In pulling out some of the decayed stones of the building a small box was found, measuring about a foot square, which had been embedded in the wall. This box was full of angels, angelets, and rose nobles. Some of the angels were of the reign of Edward IV., some of Henry VI., some of Henry VII., and some of Henry VIII; but there were no coins later than the last

mentioned reign. Was this "treasure trove?" Undoubtedly it was. There were all the marks of its having been secreted, and of all intention on the part of the owner or owners to resume the possession of it when time and opportunity should render it safe to do so. Alas; that time never came. The rapacious instruments of Henry's avarice were too lynx eyed to allow it to be ever safely disintombed. *My* theory respecting it was this:—When Henry VIII. dissolved the lesser monasteries (which, as old Bishop Fisher said, was only the handle to the axe by which he cut down the larger ones, and the event verified his prediction) the monks of Guisbro' Priory, which was only about six miles off, fearing the worst, and clinging, like good ecclesiastics as they were, to their pelf, fled with their treasures, and with the craft and cunning peculiar to their order, buried a portion of them in the walls of the parsonage house of Ormesby. They did not, it would seem, place any faith in the old saying,—“Stone walls have ears, and a bird of the air will carry the matter.” Those stone walls had kept the secret well, and no blabbing bird had played the part of informer. The value of the treasure could not have been less than £10,000, but, unfortunately, it almost all fell into the horny grasp of the ignorant and roguish workmen, who, loving strong ale better than antiquities, squandered it up and down the country in a reckless and heart-rending manner. There had not been so many angels flying about that part of Yorkshire since the world began.

But the treasure should not only have been hidden with an intention of its being resumed, but the owner of it should not be known. If a box of gold or silver plate should be found buried in the ground, the owner of which (although long buried himself) can be traced, it would not be “treasure trove” and the property of the Crown, but would belong to the personal representatives of that owner. Suppose the earl of Derby, or any other representative of an ancient family, were to find buried in his grounds a box containing gold or silver chalices, salvers, etc., of antique workmanship, which had most probably been lying in the earth for centuries, would it be “treasure trove”? Certainly it would. But suppose the arms of the earl of Derby were engraven upon the plate, then I apprehend that it would not be “treasure trove”, for there would be strong presumptive evidence of ownership. But if the same plate had been discovered elsewhere, if it had been found on land which did not belong to the earl of Derby, and had never been in his family, the coat of arms might be evidence of its having once been the property of an earl of Derby, but there would be no circumstance from which we might infer that it had not legally changed ownership.

British Archaeological Association.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING, SALISBURY, 1858.

AUGUST 2ND TO 7TH INCLUSIVE.

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THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

PRESIDENT.

THE MARQUIS OF AILESBURY.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

SIR EDMUND ANTROBUS, BART.

EDMUND ANTROBUS, ESQ., M.P., F.S.A.

SIR F. H. H. BATHURST, BART.

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RT. HON. T. H. S. SOTHERON ESTCOURT, M.P., F.S.A.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

UPON the arrival of the marquis of Ailesbury (the president), he was met by Coard Squarey, esq., the mayor, and other members of the corporation, in their robes of office, and conducted, together with the officers of the Association, into the Council Chamber.

The mayor having taken the chair, Mr. PETTIGREW opened the business of the meeting by observing that it was his pleasing duty, as the senior vice-president of the Association, and in the absence of the earl of Albemarle (the president on the former occasion), to introduce to their notice the most noble the marquis of Ailesbury. They would, he felt certain, agree with him that, in conducting researches of an antiquarian nature, in any locality, it was an advantage to be presided over by an enlightened nobleman, whose position in the county could not fail to afford them many facilities for prosecuting those researches for which the Association had been specially instituted. If, during former years, they had had occasion to rejoice at the reception which they had met with in various parts of the country, he was sure that those receptions had not exceeded in kindness the manner in which they had been greeted on the present occasion, not only by the corporate body, but also by the authorities of the cathedral, and by the gentry and magistracy of the city and its neighbourhood. He would now confine himself simply to moving their thanks to the noble marquis for his great kindness and condescension in honouring them with his presence; and expressing at the same time, on behalf of the members of the Association, their obligations to the authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical, for the kind support which they had rendered.

The Mayor said: My lord, and ladies and gentlemen, the duty which devolves upon me on this occasion is of so novel a nature that I feel somewhat fearful I shall not be able to acquit myself with that discretion which is required. Still the most important part of that duty is of so agreeable a nature, that I hasten to its performance. It is to offer to the noble marquis, and to the members of the British Archeological Association, a cordial welcome to the city of Salisbury. I offer that welcome,



not only in my own name, as the chief magistrate, but also on behalf of the municipal authorities and the inhabitants generally. We all feel the deepest sympathy and the greatest respect for the pursuit to which this Association is devoted. That pursuit is capable of affording the highest gratification ; but still I cannot help thinking that, if archæological investigations are to be restricted to that which is ancient, simply on the ground of its antiquity, it would be a barren science, and one that was unworthy of being followed. And yet, if I rightly interpret the scope and extent of archæological inquiry, it is for the purpose of improving and benefiting mankind, by rescuing and preserving that which is beautiful or true in art—all that is valuable or interesting in science or literature—which our forefathers produced or discovered. I might also add that the true secret of that fascination which attaches to archæological pursuits is due, in a large measure, to the sympathy they engender between ourselves and those races of the past who have long ended that pilgrimage of life which we are now taking. This city and district, now honoured by the presence of the Association, are peculiarly rich in objects worthy of notice. The remains of the Celt, the Roman, the Dane, the Saxon, and the Norman, lie scattered profusely around. Beginning with that interesting object, Old Sarum (once a remarkable city fortress), nearly every hill-top in the neighbourhood bore traces of human occupation for defensive purposes. The mysterious masses of Stonehenge, too, with the large and indestructible tombs of the great surrounding it, afford an object for human contemplation, unsurpassed, I believe, in the world. In architecture, our beautiful cathedral (over which six centuries have passed, adding rather to its grace and dignity than destroying a single charm) courts your inquiry ; and I am sure that it will be a subject of congratulation and pleasure to all to find that those to whom the care of the fabric is now entrusted, are neither sparing of pains nor expense to hand it down to posterity in the most perfect condition. In other respects, as regards architecture, this district will also be found to be attractive ; and the beautiful church at Wilton will more especially deserve your attention. The ecclesiastical and civil records of this city are well worthy of the notice of your palæographer and others interested in these matters. There are, I believe, records in the possession of the bishop relating to the bishopric at a period anterior to the foundation of the cathedral ; and the records of the dean and chapter, which extend back to the fourteenth century, will afford a vast deal of useful and instructive matter. The city ledgers go back to the time of Richard II ; and are continued, without any interruption, down to the present period. We have, in addition, four books (the remains of fifteen volumes, the remainder having been destroyed by fire) which relate to the transfer of the city lands at an early period, containing a copy of the testaments of persons who resided here. These will well reward the

attention of those who are disposed to look into them. I have great pleasure in stating that all who have possessed anything worthy of attention have readily come forward to place it at the disposal of the Association; and I can only express a hope that the reception which the members of the Association will experience during the week, will induce them, both individually and collectively, to repeat their visits to this city.

THE MARQUIS OF AILESBURY, on taking possession of the chair, said, he feared that he should most unworthily discharge the duties of president. They had doubtless selected him for the honour, on account of his being a Wiltshire man; and, as far as that went, in the interest he took in the county, and in everything connected with it, he could fairly compete with any one in that room. It was impossible that he should not feel, in common with every one who had received an education, the immense advantage which societies of this description had conferred upon the country, both by their literary productions and their historical researches. For his own part, he looked forward with great interest to the several papers which were to be read during the Congress, and which, he was sure, would interest and instruct them. Having travelled more in foreign countries than in England, he was not competent to judge of the comparative interest of one county and another; but still he had every reason to believe that Wiltshire could shew signs and relics of by-gone times, of a nature which would not yield, in point of interest, to those of any other county in England. Having selected Salisbury for a visit, he hoped the members would not be disappointed, but that events would occur which would lead them to return to the county at some future time.

THE very rev. the DEAN OF SALISBURY said he had been desired by the bishop to express his deep regret that urgent business, which could not be postponed, had prevented his attending the meeting today. His lordship had begged him, however, to assure the members of the Association that he most cordially united with the authorities of the cathedral in tendering them a hearty welcome to this place. The Palace gardens would be thrown open; and the bishop hoped to have the pleasure of receiving them at the Palace tomorrow evening. On the part of the chapter, he had only to say that they were looking forward with great interest and pleasure to the promised visit to the cathedral and the Chapter House. He need hardly say that the chapter would be most happy to afford every facility of access both to the manuscripts in their library, and to the ancient records in their muniment room.

The president then called upon Mr. Pettigrew to deliver the introductory discourse, "On the Antiquities of Wiltshire" selected for investigation during the Congress. (See pp. 1-26 *ante*.)

Upon the conclusion of the discourse, the very rev. the dean of Salisbury moved the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Pettigrew; and the party

immediately proceeded, under the direction of the mayor, Mr. Swayne, and Mr. Brodie, to visit various objects in the town. The first examined was the HALL OF JOHN HALLE. (See p. 19 *ante*.)

The POULTRY CROSS, now much deprived of its original ornamentation, but still not without interest, was next visited. In ancient deeds it is named as the High Cross, where poultry, fruit, vegetables, etc., are laid out for sale. It is an open hexagonal building, having six arches supported by massive buttress piers. The centre pillar, square at the bottom, had clustered demi-angels holding shields which formerly held inscriptions. At the springing of the arches was also a series of similar figures.

The churches of ST. THOMAS, ST. EDMUND, and ST. MARTIN, were then successively examined. (See pp. 16-18 *ante*.)

The cathedral porch erected in Mr. Wyndham's grounds was visited. According to the Latin inscription¹ placed upon it, we are given to understand that it was originally constructed in the city of Old Sarum, and thence transferred to the new city, where, for upwards of five hundred years, it served as a vestibule to the northern door of the cathedral. When this was closed up, the porch was placed in these grounds with the consent of the dean and chapter. The work is unquestionably of later date than any part of the present cathedral, and never could have belonged to Old Sarum. Several portions of it are quite modern.


Several ancient timber houses are still to be seen; but most of them have been deprived of their principal ornamentation. The GEORGE INN HOSTELRY, it was said, was shortly to be pulled down. It is an interesting antiquity.

Time permitted but a hasty view of these objects; and the members and visitors assembled at the *table d'hôte* (White Hart), under the presidency of the marquis of Ailesbury, who, on this occasion, was supported by the bishop of Salisbury, the dean of Salisbury, the sub-dean, arch-deacon Hony, and other authorities of the cathedral; together with the mayor of Salisbury; sir Edward Hulse, bart.; Mr. Poulett Scrope, M.P.; Mr. Marsh, M.P.; Mr. W. Coningham, M.P.; Mr. Ewart, M.P.; etc., etc., constituting a large party, and including many ladies.

In the evening a meeting was held in the Council Chamber (the president in the chair), when Mr. PLANCHÉ was called upon to read his paper, "On the Pedigree of Robert Fitz-Walter, first Earl of Salisbury", (see pp. 26-46 *ante*), upon the conclusion of which Charles Marsh Lee, esq. (the town clerk of Salisbury), produced various charters and documents selected from the municipal archives, which were submitted to, and partly translated and read by, Mr. BLACK, the society's palæographer.

¹ "Ædem hanc, que, olim in Sorbioduno urbe extracta, et postea, urbem novam transvecta, portam, plus quingentos annos, ecclesiæ cathedralis borealem, jam nunc ocellusam, vestibuli loco adumbraverat, decani capitulique assensu, hic demum collocari curavit."—H. P. W., A.D. 1791.

He reported that he had made an examination of these documents, and found that they were of great value and interest; but he regretted that he had had so little time to investigate their contents. He had therefore confined his attention to the oldest part of a series of books, and to the oldest charters; and to these he should limit his observations. No corporation had a greater number of charters preserved than Salisbury. The oldest of these is dated on the 30th of January, in the eleventh year of Henry III (1226); and this document contained an allegation which impugned a statement made by Mr. Pettigrew at the morning meeting, respecting the laying of the foundation stone of the cathedral. He (Mr. Black) considered that evidence under the great seal of England would, no doubt, be received as very good testimony of a fact which must have been within the memory of the king himself. This charter confirmed the privileges of the cathedral, stating, in plain words, "in the foundation of which church we have laid the first stone" ("primum lapidem posuimus"). This charter grants that Salisbury shall be a free city for ever; and the citizens were to be exempted, throughout England, from every kind of toll, from pontage, passage, lastage, stallage, carriage, and all other customs, on their goods, both by land and water. It prohibited any one from vexing or disturbing them or their servants, and grants to them the same liberties as the citizens of Winchester. It also granted to the bishop power to enclose the city with fosses, for protection against robbers; to change and transfer the ways and bridges leading to it; and to hold it for ever as his own domain. It was also provided that it should not be lawful for the citizens to give, or sell, or pledge, any of the land of the city without the consent of the bishop. It also granted the privilege of holding a yearly fair, from the vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin to the octave of the same; and of a weekly market on a Tuesday. All merchants coming to this city were to have free liberty in coming, standing, and retiring, with free entry and issue. The charter also stated that all the aforesaid liberties were granted to the bishop, canons, and citizens, so that nothing be taken away of the liberties granted by the king's predecessors. All this is confirmed to the bishop, canons, and citizens, saving the liberties of the city of London. It is dated at Westminster, in the eleventh year of king Henry III. Here, then, we have an instrument of the foundation of a city,—a very uncommon thing, as most of the cities and towns of England held their liberties by prescription before charters were given to them. The next royal charter is dated the fifty-fourth of Henry III, and grants the holding of an additional fair, which was to last eight days, commencing on the eve of St. Remigius. This was signed with the great seal, and was of green wax. This charter was confirmed by one in the time of Edward I (which he had not found); and was ratified by a charter dated in the ninth year of his son, Edward II. This charter, which recites the whole of the



charter of Edward I, confirms the citizens in the holding of an additional market on Saturdays, and is signed with the great seal, almost entire, in green wax. One of the most interesting of the city charters was that of Edward III, who granted the citizens license to fortify their city. The former gave them permission to make dykes; but this gives them power to build a wall of stone. Mr. Black then translated the contents of this valuable and highly interesting document, and observed that it was granted in 1370, in the forty-sixth of Edward III. Richard II, by letters patent, also granted to Ralph bishop of Salisbury, and to his successors, permission to fortify the city; and the bishop exercised the right vested in him by permitting the inhabitants to do so. He next observed that there were many large charters at which he had not looked; and, after referring to several other documents, proceeded to notice the remains of the corporation ledgers, from which he gave many curious and interesting extracts. He noticed particularly an entry in one of these, which referred to the battle of Agincourt, fought by Henry V; and observed that there were a variety of entries relating to the payment of members of parliament for the city. He also pointed out an original document, with the autograph initials of Edward IV (E. R., Edwardus rex), charging the citizens to elect a mayor in the usual form. The sign manual of a king to a document of this kind was most unusual. The two books, being the remains of the ledgers, were on paper; but three books, called the *Domesday* of Salisbury, were on vellum, and were most interesting documents, similar in their contents to the Hustings Rolls of the City of London. Mr. Black then referred to various other documents, and concluded by reading a curious inventory of articles at the Old George Inn in the High-street.

Mr. PETTIGREW, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Black for the able manner in which he had translated these ancient documents, said that, with respect to the correction which had been made of the statement made by him in the morning, he begged to give up his authority, namely Dodsworth (or rather Hatcher), who quotes the language of William de Wanda, dean when the foundation stones were laid, and whose account is still in the Muniment Room of the Chapter House.¹

A vote of thanks was then awarded to Mr. Black, and the meeting separated.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 3.

At 10 A.M., a large party proceeded to visit OLD SARUM, under the able guidance of Mr. H. J. F. Swayne, whose intimate knowledge of the locality gave to the meeting much information, and prepared the mem-

¹ Mr. Pettigrew has, since the Congress, ascertained that at the time of the foundation of the cathedral the king was in Wales. "We have laid" is therefore to be understood as to its having been done by the regal authority.

bers and visitors the more readily to comprehend the paper of Mr. Geo. Vere Irving, to be read at the evening meeting.

At 1 p.m., the Association assembled in the Close, and were received by the dean, the hon. canon Waldegrave, and other authorities connected with the cathedral; which, upon the arrival of the president, was minutely examined and discoursed upon by Mr. Chas. E. Davis. (See pp. 46 62.)

The examination of the cathedral was continued until the time for evening service had arrived. This was attended by the Association; and upon its conclusion the members and visitors assembled in the nave, to accompany Mr. Planché in the course of his demonstration of the monumental sculpture.¹

The Association then adjourned to dine together, and were afterwards received at the palace by the lord bishop of Salisbury and Mrs. Hamilton. The company were very numerous; and a *conversazione* was held, in the course of which the rev. prebendary Fane produced the remains found by him in a barrow near Warminster, the one most recently opened in the county.

The rev. gentleman said that, in addressing a few words to the company there assembled, on the subject of these discoveries, he felt that he owed an apology to them for undertaking the task. He had been solicited to do so, and had readily complied with the request; but he really had had no time to prepare a paper on the subject, and he trusted therefore that they would excuse his hasty and imperfect remarks. And first, with respect to barrows, it was scarcely necessary for him to inform an audience so intelligent as that which he was then addressing, that there was no county in England where these remains of our ancestors of the most remote period were more abundant. He need hardly say that they welcomed the members of the Association; and watched with the deepest interest the proceedings of a society whose object it was to promote science, and to investigate the character of the remains with which they were surrounded. The diagrams which he exhibited would give some idea of the different forms of the barrows found in this locality; many of which had been opened by sir R. C. Hoare and by his able lieutenant, the late Mr. Cunnington of Heytesbury. These monuments were found in the greatest abundance in the neighbourhood of Amesbury, whilst some of them were placed on lofty heights. The diagram before them represented a barrow on his own property, and which had recently been opened. It was what is called a "long barrow", which was beyond all question the oldest form of barrow. Sir R. C. Hoare had classified the barrows found on the Plain, and he considered that the "long barrow" was the earliest form. He then referred to the classification of sir Richard, and noticed in succession the Bowl, Bell, Pond, Twin, Cone, and Broad barrows. He then alluded to the circumstances under which

¹ His remarks will appear in the next *Journal*.

the remains found in the barrow near Warminster were discovered. It had been twice opened: once by Mr. Cunnington, who had not dug deeply; and who had, in fact, only tapped, and then left it. It was also opened when the Wiltshire Archæological Society met in his parish; and when Dr. Thurnham, with a zeal worthy of a noble cause, under a blazing sun worked hard to ascertain if there were any contents. But nothing was found. About two months ago, however, two farm labourers were at work near the spot, and on digging the chalk they came to the remains which he then exhibited. These evidently belonged to the earliest race which had inhabited this country; and as far as osteology was concerned, the skull produced, in his opinion, represented the head of a perfect savage. The remains consisted of several skeletons of human beings; and these appeared as if they had been thrown with violence on the spot. From this he thought that it was not unreasonable to infer that they were the remains of captives who had been sacrificed at the interment of a chief. He then remarked that it was a somewhat extraordinary circumstance, that the line of cremation spreads over the whole barrow, to the extent of about two inches in thickness, and consists of a rich black mould. From all that he had observed, it was evidently a Belgic interment. Besides the skeletons, some vases had been found, which were evidently of the most ancient workmanship. One of these was comparatively perfect, and the others were in fragments. He then exhibited one of the skulls, by which, from the teeth, it was evident that the person to whom it once belonged, had fed on vegetable diet. He had not the slightest doubt that this skull belonged to one of the aboriginal Belgæ; and that he was in almost the same low state of savage nature as were the natives of New Zealand before the gospel of truth was preached amongst them. He must also mention that some horns of deer were found in this barrow.

Mr. PETTIGREW moved a vote of thanks to the rev. gentleman for the eloquent manner in which he had addressed the assembly. He observed that some difference of opinion might now prevail with respect to the classification of barrows by sir Richard Colt Hoare, as they varied much in form and construction in different parts of the country. Into that part of the question he would not now enter. As the rev. gentleman was obliged to depart, he should not make any further observations; but he trusted that the warmest thanks of the company would be awarded to him.

Rev. prebendary FANE briefly acknowledged the compliment, and expressed his regret that he had not had time to prepare a more perfect sketch of the subject which he had undertaken to elucidate.

The rev. W. H. JONES, of Bradford-upon-Avon, then read a paper on "The Merchants of the Staple", which will appear in a future *Journal*.

At the conclusion of this paper, a vote of thanks was tendered to Mr. Jones; and, after partaking of refreshments, the company retired.

(To be continued.)

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JUNE 1859.

ON THE SEPULCHRAL EFFIGIES IN SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., ROUGE CROIX, HON. SEC.

THE monumental sculpture in Salisbury cathedral has already received considerable attention both from the artist and the antiquary. The effigies have nearly all been admirably engraved and minutely described. Some of the most remarkable, such as that of the first William Longuespée, repeatedly; but every year adds to our stock of information and experience, and many have passed since the labours of Stothard and Britton did tardy justice to these beautiful and venerable relics. I shall not, therefore, apologize for endeavouring to follow humbly in their footsteps; and, while availing myself of the valuable observations of preceding archaeologists, calling your attention to such points as may appear to me to require further illustration or inquiry.¹

Commencing with

THE ECCLESIASTICAL EFFIGIES,

the most ancient of which is that placed second on the right hand as you enter the cathedral by the great west door, and has been attributed (I think justly) by Mr. Gough to bishop Roger, the successor of St. Osmund, elected in 1102, consecrated in 1107, and who died December 11th, 1139. "The

¹ It has not been thought necessary to have all the effigies redrawn and engraved for this article, as accurate representations of them are to be found in many works accessible to the public at large.

history and adventures of this prelate," remarks Mr. Britton, "almost assume the air of a romance"; but I am unfortunately prohibited from indulging in romantic stories that are not immediately relevant to the question at issue, and must therefore refer you to William of Malmesbury, whose amusing chronicles have been recently popularized by an excellent English translation.¹ My business is to call your attention to the most interesting portions of this effigy, and amongst them certainly is the inscription on that part of the episcopal costume called the chasuble or chesible, and round the edge of the slab itself. Of the first, but a few words can now be deciphered,—"*affer opem devenies in idem*"; an imperfect sentence, simply alluding to the common lot of mortality. But the latter inscription contains too many pointed allusions to the life and character of bishop Roger for us to have much doubt of the identity. In literal English it is as follows: "Salisbury weeps to-day the fall of the sword of justice, the father of the church of Salisbury. Whilst he flourished, he sustained the wretched, and feared not the pride of the powerful, but was the punisher (*lit.* 'club') and terror of the wicked. He took his origin from chiefs ('dukes' or 'leaders'), from noble princes (or 'from the first nobles'), and shed lustre on you like a precious stone."

This allusion to a noble descent has, however, occasioned some antiquaries to doubt if it can be intended to apply to bishop Roger, who is reported to have been only a poor mass priest when he attracted the attention of Henry I; and to suggest that it is more applicable to bishop Joceline, Roger's immediate successor, who is said to have been a member of the noble family of Bailleul, or Baliol as it is more commonly written. But many poor priests were, as Mr. Gough has observed, younger sons of noblemen; and a critical inquiry into the lineage of bishop Roger may one day fully justify the only part of the description of him which has given rise to a question.

The character of the sculpture is quite early enough to support the opinion of Mr. Gough and Mr. Britton. The effigy is in low relief. The mitre is remarkable in its form, differing as much from the usual mitre of the twelfth century as it does from any later examples. At this period it had the shape of an ordinary round cap or bonnet, slightly

¹ Published in Bohn's *Antiquarian Library*.

indented in the centre. The rest of the episcopal costume is in perfect accordance with other monuments and drawings of the time. The alb, the dalmatic with lateral openings, the chasuble, and the stole, the ends of which are seen below the dalmatic. In the left hand is the pastoral staff in its primitive simplicity. The right hand is raised in the attitude of benediction. The face is bearded,—a fashion which was so often permitted and forbidden to the clergy, that it cannot be a very safe guide to us as to the exact period; but it was in 1104, just after the election of bishop Roger, that a vigorous and successful attack was made by bishop Serlo on the beards and whiskers of the laity, who are compared by the chroniclers of the time to “filthy goats”. And in the very year that Roger died (1139), the dream of a young soldier, who fancied he was being strangled in his own luxuriant locks, produced upon his superstitious companions a greater effect than the thunders of the clergy, who constantly wore beards themselves in the reign of Henry I.

The original position of the stone coffin when removed to New Sarum, was, according to Mr. Francis Price (an architect of the last century,¹ who was surveyor, or clerk of the fabric of this cathedral, and took great interest in the subject), “in the wall of the north aisle of the present church, within an arch made for that purpose.”² The arms ascribed to bishop Roger in the Add. MS., Brit. Mus., No. 12,443,—“*vert*, five eagles displayed in saltire, *argent*,”—are merely attributive, as there are few heraldic charges that can be with safety presumed to have been borne as early as the first half of the twelfth century.

Immediately at the head of this stone, and in a line with it, between the columns, lies another of similar character, presenting us with the figure of a bishop in full pontificals, but without any inscription. The chasuble is embroidered with stars, and the dalmatic has a rich border. The left hand holds the pastoral staff, the right being raised as usual in the attitude of benediction. Under the feet is the figure of a dragon, and around the effigy an elaborate ornament of birds and foliage, in the gorgeous style of early Anglo-

¹ He died March 20th, 1753, and is buried in the cloister, by the Chapter House door. In his epitaph it is stated that he “directed the many and great repairs” of the cathedral, “during the last seventeen years, with great judgment and integrity.”

² Description of Salisbury Cathedral, 4to, London, 1774, p. 138.

Norman sculpture. This slab is supposed to have covered the remains of bishop Joceline, the successor of bishop Roger, advanced to the see in 1142; and who, after presiding over it for forty-one years, retired to a monastery, and died Nov. 18th, 1184. He appears, however, to have been buried in the old cathedral, and to have been removed, with his predecessors, Roger and Osmund, to the new. The words of William de Wanda, who lived at the time, are:—"In the year 1226, on the feast of the Trinity, the bodies of three bishops were translated from the Castle of Sarum to the new fabric, viz., the body of the blessed St. Osmund, the body of bishop Roger, and the body of bishop Jocelyn." It is probable that the stone coffins, with their superincumbent sculptured slabs, were removed at the same time; but it is evident that the head of the effigy now under consideration is not the original. It was probably broken during the removal, or in reconstructing the tomb, and another head substituted during the reign of Henry III or Edward I; which accounts for the form of the mitre—a richly ornamented example of the thirteenth century—and the shaven face of the bishop, presenting a puzzling discrepancy to the antiquary, who is only acquainted with the effigy from engravings.

The seal of bishop Joceline, engraved in Dodsworth's *Antiquities of Salisbury*, represents him bearded. It is singular that previous writers have not remarked on the obvious fact of the substituted head; and the demolition of the original is greatly to be lamented, as we are thereby prevented from comparing the mitre with that of the neighbouring effigy, and ascertaining what change of form, if any, took place during the latter half of the twelfth century. Those who ascribe the former effigy to bishop Joceline, transfer to this the name of Roger; and we are unfortunately unassisted by the research of Mr. Price, who says: "I never could find, after all the inquiries in my power, where the remains of bishop Joceline were deposited, though it be evident enough they were removed from Old Sarum." I cannot pretend to decide this vexed question, but my opinion inclines to the order in which I have described them.

The arms attributed to bishop Joceline are, "*azure* a fess dancette, a cross formée issuing therefrom in chief, *gules*"; which, if there be any authority for, does not tend to corro-

borate the tradition of his being of the baronial family of Baliol, the well known coat of which is, "*gules an orle argent.*"

The third monument in chronological succession is now placed in a chapel in the north-east transept, called the Morning Chapel, having been removed by Mr. Wyatt, in 1789, from under a canopy on the north side of the high altar. It is said to be that of Richard Poore, bishop of Salisbury in 1217, and the founder of the present cathedral; but he did not die bishop of Salisbury, having been—much to his regret—translated to the see of Durham; and an inscription formerly in the Virgin Chapel here, and copied by Leland in the reign of Henry VIII, states that the bishop was a native of Tarrant in Dorsetshire, where he founded a monastery; and that, dying there in 1229, his heart was deposited in that place, and his body carried to Durham. He was buried there, in the Chapter House; and although a monument to his memory might certainly have been placed in a cathedral which he had founded, notwithstanding that his remains had been interred elsewhere, it appears that, on the removal of this tomb, a skeleton was found beneath it, which has been reverently deposited in the present spot. It has, therefore, been suggested that this effigy represents bishop Bingham, the successor of Richard Poore, who died in 1246, and was buried on the north side of the altar, the precise place whence his tomb was removed. The tomb now shewn as bishop Bingham's, and which (*mirabile dictu!*) has been allowed to remain in its original position, in the north aisle of the choir, certainly does not occupy the place described as that of his interment. It is a flat altar tomb, the slab of which was once inlaid with brasses, which might have enabled us to settle the question. It must now remain, for some time further at least, an open one.

To return to the Morning Chapel. The effigy said to represent Richard Poore is early in character; the face bearded. The head of the pastoral staff is ornamented with foliage. The architectural ornaments of the canopy, which appear to represent the towers of a cathedral, have no particular meaning, as examples are frequent of this style of decoration prevailing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The winged figure seated, and holding the sun and moon in its hands, is a remarkable object. A crescent and a star are to be seen on most of the royal seals of the Plantagenets, and

I believe them to be family badges; but they are also on the seal of the chapter of this cathedral, on each side of the head of the Virgin; and are so frequently employed in numismatic and architectural decorations of this period, that I do not think any particular inference can be drawn from their presence here. Without any more precise data than we are at present in possession of, I must hesitate to assign this monument to any particular prelate; giving, however, to bishop Bingham the benefit of the doubt. Three different coats of arms are ascribed to him. Hutchins, in his *History of Dorsetshire*, says he bore crosses patée. In a MS. in the possession of sir Thomas Phillipps they are blazoned, “*or*, on a fess *gules*, three water bougets *argent*”; and in the Add. MS., No. 12,443, Brit. Mus., “*azure*, a bend cotticed between six cross crosslets fitchée *or*.” The latter are those engraved by Mr. Bedford in his useful work, *The Blazon of Episcopacy*.

In the south aisle of the choir, and the stem of the east transept, is a superb monument erected to Egidius or Giles de Bridport, or de Bridiesford, bishop of Salisbury from 1256 to 1262, and during whose episcopate the cathedral was finished. The effigy itself presents us with no particular variety. The maniple is, however, visible over the left arm. The form of the mitre is that which prevailed during the reigns of Henry III and Edward I. The head of the pastoral staff is foliated; the feet of the bishop rest on a lion. The castellated building which ornaments the upper portion of the tomb, and the two angels (one of whom is placing a censer in the hand of the prelate) are executed with considerable artistic skill. The late Mr. Stothard has fully described the sculptures in the spandrels of the canopy, which appear to represent the bishop's birth, his confirmation or ordination, his induction to his see, his consecration of the cathedral, Sept. 30th, 1258; his death, and the ascent of his soul to heaven. On a small heater-shaped shield, suspended from the branch of a tree in Mr. Stothard's time, were the arms of the prelate,—“*azure*” (misprinted *argent*), “a cross between four pellets or bezants *or*”; which is the blazon given by Cassan in his *Bishops of Sarum*. The shield, however, with all the rest of the sculpture, is now covered with whitewash, and exhibits no trace of armorial bearings.

Returning to the nave, we find on the south side the mutilated effigy of a bishop, said to be that of Walter de la

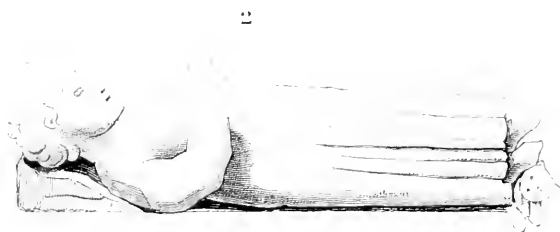
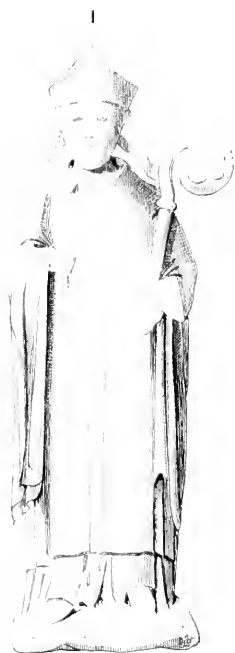
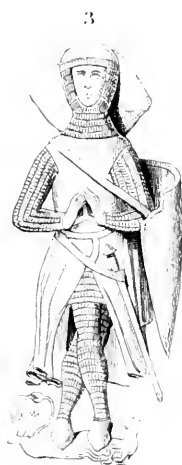
Wyle, consecrated in 1263, and who died in 1270. The ancient form of the chasuble is particularly observable in this effigy, which was moved from the north end of the transept in which the bishop was buried,—that being the only evidence in favour of its identity. The arms of de la Wyle are given by Cassan as a chevron between three castles; and such a coat is seen on the common seal of the College of St. Edmund, in Salisbury, which bishop Walter founded.

We must retrace our steps to the great south transept, to examine the magnificent monument of bishop Mitford, who was translated from Chichester to Salisbury in 1395, and died May 3rd, 1407. It is an elaborate and superb piece of workmanship, and the effigy exhibits all the splendour of the episcopal costume of the fifteenth century. The dalmatic and an under-garment are fringed all round. The staff, which has unfortunately lost the uppermost portion, is highly decorated, and ornamented with a pendent scarf, called by Pugin a veil, and by Latin writers *orarium*, a term also applied to the stole and to the border of a robe. The maniple hangs over the left arm; and the mitre, of nearly the present form, is richly bordered and jewelled. Under his feet are two dogs; and the cushions are supported by two monastic figures now headless. The bishop's arms, and those of the see, are on the north side; and on the south those of France and England, quarterly, and the attributive coat of Edward the Confessor, which was impaled with the royal arms by Richard II.

I have purposely left to the last the effigy so well known as “the boy bishop”, as I am by no means satisfied with its appropriation. There is no doubt that it was the custom here, as well as at Winchester, Exeter, Eton, and other places, for one of the chorister boys to be elected on St. Nicholas' day (December 6th), a bishop; and from that period to the 28th of December, the day of the Holy Innocents, to be apparelled in the episcopal vestments, and with mitre and pastoral staff walk in procession, and perform all the duties and ceremonies of a bishop, except mass. But it has been asserted that if the boy chanced to die during that period, he was buried with all the state and reverence due to a bishop. Of this latter circumstance I desire some evidence, as Gregory,¹

¹ Gregorii (J.) *Opera Posthuma*. “Episcopus Puerorum in Die Innocentium.” Lond., 1649, 4to.

to whom we are indebted for the information, only says,—“as by the monument in stone, spoken of before, *it plainly appeareth.*” This is certainly not plain enough to me. Such an occurrence would naturally be rare. A sickly boy would not be elected. His death would therefore be the result of an accident, or of some sudden illness,—an event which, I think, could scarcely have escaped being specially chronicled in the records of the cathedral. If it be not, I shall continue to believe that this effigy, like that of the knight at Horsted Keynes, and many other examples, represents a person of full age, and has been only executed on a small scale in compliance with the will of the deceased, the desire of his family, or the fancy of the sculptor. Examples of this description are to be found of each sex and of all classes, civil, military, and ecclesiastic. Those best known, after the “boy bishop” at Salisbury (see plate 11, fig. 1), are: 1, the “boy abbot” at Bindon Abbey, Dorset, 2 ft.; 2, ecclesiastic, Darlington, Devon, 2 ft. 8 ins.; (fig. 2) 3, cross-legged knight, Maypounder, Dorset, 2 ft.; (fig. 3) 4, cross-legged knight, Tenbury, Worcestershire, 4 ft.; 5, cross-legged knight, Bottesford, Leicestershire, 22 ins. (imperfect); (fig. 4) 6, cross-legged knight, Horsted Keynes, Sussex, 2 ft. 3 ins.; (fig. 5) 7, wooden effigy, called the “boy templar”, Ayot St. Lawrence, Herts, 2 ft. 3 ins.; 8, civilian, Haccombe, Devon, 2 ft. 2 ins.; 9, female, Coberley, Gloucestershire, about 3 ft.; 10, female, Gayton, Northamptonshire,—“Mabilia filia Thomæ de (Gayton).” A writer in the *Journal* of the Archæological Institute (vol. iii, pp. 234-239), who describes some of these, observes that other instances may be found at Little Easton, Essex; Anstey, Herts; and Long Wittenham, Berks. The best proofs, however, of the fact that diminutive effigies do not indicate children, exist in that of Joan countess of Dreux, in the abbey of Jard, near Melun, who died in 1346 (vide Gough, *Sepulch. Mon.*, vol. ii, introduction, p. cix); and in the little one of white marble, about two feet in length, representing Blanche d’Artois, granddaughter of Louis VIII, married first to Henry king of Navarre in 1269; and secondly to Edmond earl of Lancaster, brother of Edward I. She died in 1302, and this effigy was placed in the choir of the conventual church of the Minoreesses at Nogent l’Artois, in Champagne, where her heart was deposited. It is now preserved in the abbey of



3F'

St. Denis at Paris. This instance appears to support the theory mentioned by the writer above quoted, who says: "It seems not unreasonable to surmise that they were placed, with something of conventional propriety, where a portion only of the remains was deposited"; particularly the heart, as several of these diminutive effigies have hearts in their hands.

I am inclined to consider the figure at Salisbury as commemorating one of the bishops of the diocese who died during the thirteenth century, but whose tombs have not yet been identified.¹ Had the figure under consideration been intended to represent a boy, it would surely have been of life size; but it is too small to be the faithful portrait of any chorister boy. And if it be a miniature effigy, what argument is there that will hold against its being that of a man? The error evidently arose in the first impression that it was that of a boy, on its discovery under the seats near the pulpit (then in the nave) about the year 1680. "In the cathedral of Sarum", says Mr. Gregory, "there lieth a monument, in stone, of *a little boy* habited all in episcopal robes, a mitre upon his head, a crozier in his hand, and the rest accordingly." And having been appointed by bishop Montague "to make further inquiry after the thing,—not doubting but that there would be something in the matter, at least of curious, if not substantial observation",—he found the ceremonial of the chorister bishop in the statutes of the chapter, and jumped at once to his conclusion. His own account of the way in which he jumped is amusing enough, and not uninteresting, as it shews us how a round assertion made upon very insufficient foundation, takes firm hold as a proven fact, and passes, as such, often unquestioned for centuries. "Returning, therefore," he tells us, "from thence by Salisbury, I obtained a perusal of the old statutes of that church, intending afterwards to have looked over the lieger books; but *finding in the statutes* a title, "*De Episcopo Choristarum*" (concerning the chorister bishops), *I began to think my business was well nigh done already*; and, indeed, a circumstance of the chapter directed me to their "*Proces-*

¹ No memorials have been discovered of bishops Wikhamp-ton, Scammel, Braundston, Corner, or Gaunt. The latter died in 1315. If it could be proved that only the heart of one of these prelates was buried here, I should incline to appropriate it to him.

sional, so *I came to perceive that the meaning of the monument was this.*"

The same easy mode of settling the question is adopted by Hutchins in his description of the boy abbot at Bindon: "The greatest curiosity, however, discovered here was the sepulchral statue *of a child*, being about two feet in length, habited in the dress and ornaments of an abbot." Then, after referring to the custom of "the chorister bishop", he adds: "Hence, if the juvenile bishop or abbot—as we may suppose was the case at Bindon—happened to die in the course of this festivity, *there is no doubt* but that he would be represented in the ornaments which he was entitled to wear during that period."¹

I regret much to have cause to dispute "the meaning of the (Salisbury) monument", as I am aware of the devoted attachment of the inhabitants of Salisbury to their "boy bishop"; but, as the very reverend the dean observed in the flattering compliment he was kind enough to pay me at the close of my lecture, the establishment of truth is of greater value than the possession of a curiosity; and it is yet open to the champions of the boy bishop to prove that truth "fights on their side". No one will be happier than I to acknowledge it.

THE KNIGHTLY EFFIGIES

in this cathedral present us with a very fine series, from the reign of Henry III to that of James I, exhibiting nearly all the principal changes in the military costume of England through a period of five centuries: from the chain-mail of the Anglo-Norman, to the very last appearance of anything that can be called a suit of armour.

The earliest, and perhaps, for many reasons, the most interesting, is that of William Longuespée, earl of Salisbury, the natural son of king Henry II by the "fair Rosamond", and husband of Ela countess of Salisbury. It has been engraved and described so often that it seems almost superfluous to say anything about it, as the equipment is very simple, consisting only of a complete suit of chain and a surcoat, on which were formerly depicted his armorial bearings, viz., "*azure, six lions rampant or, 3, 2, and 1*": the arms,

¹ Hist. Dorset., vol. i, p. 214.

not of his putative grandfather, Geoffrey earl of Anjou, as generally supposed, but those of his wife's family, in right of whom he was earl of Salisbury. I have given my reasons elsewhere,¹ at length, for this opinion; and the research and study of thirteen years have failed to produce any evidence to shake it. Sandford, in his *Genealogical History*, has given us a representation of the tomb as it existed in his time; and it had then around it small heater-shaped shields charged alternately with the three passant lions of England and the six rampant of Salisbury. The exquisite diaper-work which formerly adorned the altar tomb of wood on which the effigy reposes, is now, alas! almost wholly destroyed; but, thanks to the suggestion of the late learned dean of Westminster (Dr. Buckland), one of the compartments has been protected by a piece of glass. The ground appears to have been *silvered*, not *gilt*, and is therefore more particularly deserving of examination. This tomb was removed to its present position in the nave, from its original one on the north side of the Lady Chapel, by Mr. Wyatt, in 1789. I may as well observe, in order to explode, if possible, a popular error, that the sword by the side of the earl is no longer than the ordinary sword of the period, and has nothing to do with his name, which was most probably given him after one of his father's ancestors, William Longuespée, son of Rollo, and father of Richard first duke of Normandy.

The next in point of date is another mailed warrior, of the reign of Edward I, as I should be inclined to believe by the *chapel de fer* worn under the mail, having taken the rounded form of the head, and by the appearance of elbow and knee pieces. The shield, too, is smaller than in the previous example, and of the triangular form called "heater-shaped". The surcoat is open to a considerable height in front, and longer than that of William earl of Salisbury. This effigy, however, has been ascribed to his son, the second William Longuespée, whom Henry III refused to recognize as earl, his mother (the countess in her own right) being still alive. It is traditionally said to have been sculptured by her order; and the circumstance of the legs being crossed has strengthened the opinion, as he was a famous Crusader, and was slain at the battle of Massoura in 1250. But the opinion is fast gaining ground, that the attitude does not

¹ Journal, vol. i, pp. 29-39.

necessarily refer to the taking of the cross, and that it is either a mere fashion in monumental sculpture which prevailed during the latter half of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century; or indicates that the deceased possessed judicial authority, as kings, judges, noblemen, and ladies of rank sufficient to possess such privilege, are generally found so represented in painting as well as statuary during that period. I should be sorry, however, to distrust the tradition, and do not feel bound to do so; for the figure may not have been executed for several years after his death (a by no means uncommon occurrence); and his not having been buried here is no bar to the probability, as we have the instance of his friend and companion, sir Robert de Vere, who was also slain at Massoura, and yet to whose memory an altar tomb, with his effigy, was erected by his widow, Helena, in Sadborough church, co. Northampton. Ela, countess of Salisbury, died in 1261; but I should still be inclined to date the sculpture of the effigy some few years later.

Further eastward in the nave stands at present the altar tomb of sir John de Montacute, younger son of William de Montacute, first earl of Salisbury of that name, and husband of Margaret daughter and heir of Thomas lord Monthermer, whose arms are not only impaled but *quartered* with those of her husband on the front of the monument: at first inducing one to imagine it must be the tomb of *her* son John, who, according to present regulations, would first bear these coats quarterly. There is no doubt, however, respecting this monument, as by sir John's will, dated 20th of March, 1388, "he bequeathed his body to be buried in the cathedral church at Salisbury, betwixt two pillars"; and also, that a plain tomb should be made for him, "with the image of a knight thereon with the arms of Montague, and a helmet under his head." Thus we find it, exhibiting a fine specimen of the all but complete plate armour which was worn during the latter portion of the reign of Edward III, and throughout those of Richard II and Henry IV. We have here the pointed bascinet, which was frequently worn in battle, with a removable vizor, the heaume being reserved for the tournament; the neck-piece, of chain, called the camail, fastened by a cord passing through rings round the edge of the bascinet, and spreading over the shoulder; the

close fitting jupon, which succeeded the loose surcoat, encircled by the military belt, and terminating in a rich scalloped edging, which just allows the chain hauberk to be seen below. The arms, legs, and feet, are all protected by pieces of plate called brassarts, cuishes, jambs, and sollerets. The gauntlets are of plate, richly ornamented on the knuckles, but not gaddled; and under the knight's head is the tilting helmet (the heaume), with the crest of a demi griffin,—not a lion, as generally drawn. His feet rest on a lion. The sword, which is broken, is richly decorated.

Nearly facing this monument, on the south side, is the fine alabaster effigy of Robert lord Hungerford, moved from its original position between the Lady Chapel and the now demolished Hungerford Chapel, which was founded by his widow, Margaret, daughter and heiress of lord Bottreaux. We have here an example of the complete plate armour of the fifteenth century, lord Hungerford having fought under the duke of Bedford during the wars in France in the reign of Henry VI, and died in 1459. He is represented with the hair polled—a fashion introduced in the reign of Henry V—and wearing a collar of SS, which first appears in the reign of Henry IV. The shoulder and elbow pieces, called pauldrons and poleyns, are ample and elegantly shaped; and the latter were fastened by what were called points (*i. e.* laces with tags to them) of leather or silk. The jupon is discarded, and in its place we have tuiles appended to a skirt of movable lames of plate, called taces and tassets. The knee pieces, *genouillères*, are very handsome, and with scalloped edges, particularly characteristic of the time of Henry VI. The military belt is still seen, to which the sword and dagger were appended. Of the former, only a trace is left; the sheath of the latter still remains. The feet of the effigy rest on a dog with a rich collar round its neck, from which extends a cord formed into an elaborate knot at the end,—perhaps indicating the Hungerford knot, one of the badges of the family. Another badge, the sickle, may be seen on portions of the Hungerford Chapel, taken down and transported into the south aisle of the choir, and transformed into a pew by the earl of Radnor in 1779.

Crossing again to the north side of the nave, we find the next in chronological order, the alabaster effigy of sir John Cheney, the staunch friend of Henry VII, who was unhorsed

by Richard III in his last desperate charge at Bosworth. The original tomb was destroyed, we are told, in the general demolition of the Beauchamp chapel, in which it stood; but his almost gigantic skeleton was replaced in the present. The armour does not differ much from the previous example; but the fashion of long hair was reintroduced towards the end of the fifteenth century, and you see it here in the extreme to which it had reached in the reign of Henry VII. The garter encircles the left knee, and over his armour he wears the mantle of the order. Round his neck is a large and magnificent collar of SS, to which are appended Henry's badges of the portcullis and the Lancastrian rose.

Passing into the Lady Chapel at the extreme end of the north aisle, stands the Gorges monument, exhibiting beneath a canopy the effigies of sir Thomas Gorges and his widow, Helena Snachenberg; the former affording us a specimen of the armour worn in the days of James I, sir Thomas having died in 1610. It consists of breast and back-plates, to the former of which are appended long tassets, which cover the trunk hose of the time, the legs being encased in plate from the knees downwards, and the arms defended by vant-braces, rere-braces, and pauldrons,—the left pauldron very large, composed of four pieces. A large ruff surrounds the neck, and a scarf is worn over the right shoulder. There is no helmet or head-piece of any description; and the hands, joined in prayer, are without gauntlets. The lady, who died in 1635, having been previously the wife of the marquis of Northampton, and one of the ladies of honour to queen Elizabeth, is represented in a mantle and coronet, according to her rank as the marchioness dowager of Northampton. With the exception of a huge neck-ruff and enormously broad-toed shoes, no characteristic portion of the costume of the period is visible. The architecture of the tomb is singular, but does not come within my province.

On the opposite side, at the extreme east end of the south aisle of the choir, is the magnificent monument of the Seymours, presenting us with the effigies, kneeling, of Edward Seymour earl of Hertford (son of the protector Somerset) and his countess, Catharine (sister of lady Jane Grey), and of Richard and Thomas their sons. The male figures are all in armour. The earl, who died April 6, 1621, and his two sons are superbly equipped in suits similar to that of sir

Thomas Gorges; but the details are more elaborately worked out, and the hangers or carriages, as they were called, for supporting the long swords of that date, are particularly remarkable. The countess, who died in 1563, is represented on an altar tomb raised at the back, in the well-known female habit of the sixteenth century.

Returning down the south choir aisle, against the south wall is the monument of sir Richard Mompesson, knight, and dame Katharine his wife. He died in 1627, and is represented in armour similar to that we have seen in the two last monuments. The costume of the lady presents no feature of interest.

The only female effigy in the cathedral, indeed, which calls for any observation of mine, is that of Mrs. Eleanor Sadler, in the wall of the south aisle of the nave, and who died January 30th, 1622. She is represented kneeling before a *prie-dieu*, and wearing a head-dress of very common occurrence in sculptures and paintings of this date; but which few, if any, are aware is the French hood so often mentioned by writers of the seventeenth century. The tail is sometimes seen hanging down the back; and at others, as in this instance, doubled up upon the head, and the end brought forward on the forehead, where Randle Holmes describes it appearing like a tongue.

I may also, perhaps, be permitted to observe, with reference to the "boy bishop", that although this effigy is much less than the size of a grown woman, it does not represent "a little girl."

I have now, I think, pointed out everything in the way of sculpture, respecting which I could flatter myself it might be in my power to afford you any information. The celebrated brass of the pugnacious bishop Wyvill has been well engraved by Carter, and is fully and accurately described in the various guides and handbooks, to which I can with confidence refer you for much interesting and valuable information. Respecting the flat stone coffin-lids appropriated to the bishops Herman and Osmund, I have not a word to offer, beyond that the letters on that of the latter correspond in form with those on the seal of William the Conqueror and other examples of the eleventh century, and that sepulchral effigies are not found much before the middle of the twelfth. The coffin-shaped tomb ascribed to bishop Longuespée, on

which is a simple cross, has, I think, to be more satisfactorily proved to have been constructed for that prelate; and the lamentable loss of the brasses which once ornamented the altar tombs on each side of the choir, assigned to bishops Bingham and York, deprives us of all trustworthy evidence in support or in contradiction of that opinion. All we can feel sure of is that the two last retain their original position, to whomsoever they were erected. Mr. Price tells us, "by tradition", that the remains of Walter Seammell were laid near the north-west grand leg, under the present seating, in 1286; "that bishop Comer" (or Corner, 1290) "lies in the middle of the choir, nearly under the eagle"; Simon de Gaunt (1315) "in an arch erected within the enclosure of the choir, on the south side, next to the south-east grand leg, near the monument of sir Richard Mompesson"; and "Roger Mortival" (1329) "lies on the north side of the choir, under a slab of marble inlaid with brass", where it is still pointed out "by tradition".

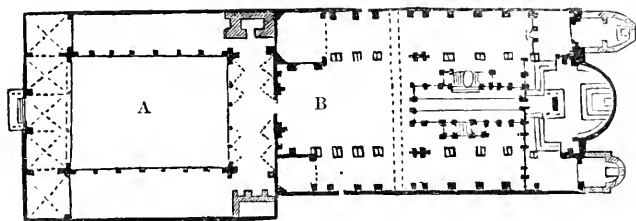
In conclusion, I shall only direct the attention of local antiquaries to an incised slab in the nave, near the effigies ascribed to bishops Roger and Jocelin, in the almost entirely obliterated outlines of which I imagined I could trace the figure of an abbot or prior. There appears to have been no mitre, and but a faint indication of a pastoral staff in the *right* hand, the bishop bearing it generally in the left.¹ A portion of the inscription may, I think, yet be deciphered, and this neglected memorial assigned to its right owner. The very rev. dean Hamilton, and all the present chapter, to whom the Association at large, and I in particular, feel so much indebted, are too sensibly aware of the shameful removals and mutilations which have been perpetrated in this beautiful cathedral, to render it necessary for me to say one word upon the subject. They require no stimulus to do all in their power to protect and illustrate the valuable remains entrusted to them; but the mischief already done, is, alas! irreparable.

¹ The seal of the celebrated Wulstan represents him with the staff in his right hand.

ON EARLY CHRISTIAN BUILDINGS AND THEIR DECORATIONS;

ILLUSTRATED BY WILTON CHURCH.

BY GEORGE GODWIN, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.



San Clemente, Rome.—A, Atrium. B, Nave.

I HAVE been asked to give you some particulars of Wilton church, and to explain what class of buildings this edifice illustrates—what particular period in that continuous history which architecture has written. To do this I must rehearse briefly a portion of that history, and tell a twice-told tale to many who are here. I might fear, therefore, to be considered impertinent, were it not known that, on these occasions, some are present who have not given attention to the subject previously; and to these, carrying out the popular character of an architectural and archaeological congress, I venture to address myself. What I have to say, and much more, will be found in the pages of the late Thomas Hope¹ and Gally Knight;² and if our visit to-day should lead any who have hitherto disregarded the subject, to look to these authors—if no further—one of the objects of the Congress will be attained. They will see how important to the history of the world are the buildings which the peoples have left, how interesting is the story they tell.

The Greeks improved on the architecture of Egypt and Assyria, and the Romans borrowed and altered the architecture of the Greeks. In Rome, prior to the time of Constan-

¹ Historical Essay on Architecture.

² The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy from the Time of Constantine to the Fifteenth Century.

time (the first Christian emperor), there were buildings of a particular sort, known as *basiliæ*; which, as their name shews, were connected with the sovereigns, or the kingly office of dispensing justice, which was the use chiefly made of them. When churches were needed for the offices of the Christian religion, these buildings were found suitable, and were so appropriated; and were, further, followed as models when the erection of other churches was necessary. The single porch of the basilica was elaborated in time to a court with colonnades, similar to the court or atrium which preceded many of the heathen temples. The clergy sat in the absis; a portion of the nave was railed off for the singers, and became the choir or chancel; and the *ambones*, or pulpits, were formed in it. After the removal, in the fourth century, of the seat of empire by Constantine to Byzantium (afterwards called Constantinople), other basilicæ were erected. The style followed in their erection was Roman; but art in Rome, at that time, had declined, and other circumstances were in operation to render these Christian buildings different from the classic temples. In times of danger the early Christians had been compelled to resort to the catacombs of Rome for the celebration of their rites. Here the martyrs were buried, and the walls and ceilings were adorned with pictures and with Christian emblems. In the erection of new basilicæ, this connection between places of worship and the burial of saintly persons was continued, and crypts were constructed to receive the bodies of holy personages. Some of the churches built received the form of catacombs, and others were erected over existing tombs.

San Clemente (originally erected, perhaps, in the fourth or fifth century, rebuilt in 790, but with little departure from the original, and so remaining) affords a specimen of a primitive church, including the atrium for the excluded class of penitents. (See engraving.) In later times, when the number of altars was increased, an additional apse was introduced at the end of each aisle; later still, at east side of transept, etc.; and lastly came side chapels.

“It is not certain,” says Gally Knight, “at what time, or by whom, the form of the basilica was so far altered as to impart to churches the symbolical shape of the cross. That this alteration was not adopted in the first instance, may be inferred from the fact mentioned by Cedrenus, that Justin II

(580) altered a church at Constantinople into the shape of the cross. Had the alteration been made, in the first instance, in the churches which Constantine built at Rome, it would, in all probability, have been equally adopted in the first churches that were erected in the new capitol." The alteration, whenever it was introduced, would be easily effected by throwing out additional wings on either side of the basilica, near the upper end; or the form might have been obtained internally by the disposition of the columns at the end next the absis. The roofs were of timber, and, with the large extent of flat wall surface, afforded a good field for coloured decoration. Formed though these buildings were, in many cases, of parts taken from earlier structures, with their long ranges of columns, wide flights of steps over the crypt, leading up to the table of communion, with (behind this) the bishop's throne, and seats for the clergy around the absis, a noble effect was produced.

In Constantinople changes in the form of churches were soon made. Skill in the art of vaulting, which enabled builders to cover in large areas with domes, led to the substitution of a square for the oblong; and thus came into use what is known as the Greek cross (a cross with arms of equal length), in opposition to the Latin cross, whereof one arm is much longer than any of the others.¹

The schism which took place between the patriarch of Constantinople and the pope led the Byzantine artists to maintain their own way of building in opposition to that of the Latin church. In the eighth century, to prevent a return to idolatry, all sculptured images were condemned by the Greek Church, and disappeared from their sacred buildings. Numbers of Greek artists were driven abroad; and the very steps taken to prevent the use of certain styles of ornamentation led to their introduction in various parts of the world. The way to make an opinion spread is to persecute it.

The use of mosaic work, colours, and gilding, was very general in Rome when taste in architecture was declining; and the Greeks of Byzantium, taking up the manufacture of mosaics, became so celebrated as to give their name to some varieties of it. They attained peculiar excellence in giving to glass a variety of hues, and applying it to the adornment

¹ Santa Sophia, completed in 548 by Justinian, and San Vitale about 530, were fully described as examples of Byzantine architecture.

of walls and ceilings. The prohibition of sculpture in relief rendered this the more valuable.

In the sixth century, Ravenna became the seat of government of the Greeks, and numerous buildings being erected there, under Justinian, the Byzantine style was first seen in Italy. There were great convulsions at this time; and at the end of the century the Lombards were rulers in Italy, and adopting the Romanesque manner, with some new features which they introduced, built churches in every direction, and gave to architecture a distinctive character which prevailed wherever the Latin church ruled. San Michele at Lucca, and San Michele at Pavia, of the seventh and eighth centuries, are the earliest churches attributed to them. Charlemagne put an end to the rule of the Lombards in 774, but adopted and naturalized, on this side of the Alps, their style of building, modified by Byzantine artists, by whom, indeed, the Lombards themselves had been influenced. In the eleventh century Lombard architecture received a fresh impulse, and was exhibited especially at Pisa, in the group of well-known edifices there. What we call Saxon and Norman architecture are shoots from the same root, influenced in their course by local circumstances.

Returning to the Lombard buildings of Italy, we find the plan is that of the Roman basilica with the Latin cross: slender projections rise from the ground to the roof-line; arcades, or corbelled strings, follow the line of the gable; the surfaces are enriched with coloured materials; and over the central doorway there is frequently a wheel-of-fortune window. There is much variety shewn in the capitals of the columns: vaulting shafts were introduced, with a large amount of sculpture, including Christian symbols. It was in this sculpture that the Lombard energy was especially shewn. In some instances it covered the buildings with figures—animals and men—from top to bottom: some of the sculptured forms were from Scandinavia.

The early churches had no tower. The year 772 is given as the date of the first built in Rome. Intended simply to carry the bells, the tower had no necessary connexion with the church, and always stood by itself. In countries where the weather was inclement this may have been found inconvenient,—at any rate the belfry was soon made, beyond the Alps, to form part of the building. In the eleventh cen-

tury, as I have already said, the Lombard style had made an advance: the pillars were more lofty, the carving was less redundant. Then, too, appeared a new feature in the shape of large projecting porches; sometimes in two stories, the roof supported by pillars, which often rested on the backs of lions,—intended, it has been suggested, to represent the strength and vigilance of the church. Sometimes, later, the animals were from the arms of the state to which the building belonged.

Those who have been so good as to follow me will step without difficulty from Northern Italy to the church in which we are assembled in Wilton, once the most important city in the county of Wilts. The old church at Wilton had fallen into a very bad condition, and it became necessary to rebuild it. It was proposed, at first, to pull down the old church, and build on the same site a Gothic church of moderate size and pretensions; but instead of allowing the parish to be at any expense, the hon. Sidney Herbert took upon himself the cost of a new church on a new site. It is supposed that on the spot chosen stood originally a church dedicated to St. Mary and St. Nicholas: at any rate they found many bones, which were disposed of as I will presently mention. At one time Mr. Herbert intended bringing to England the principal portions of an old Lombard church near Florence; but as there was some difficulty in getting possession, and permission to ship the remains, Mr. Herbert determined to build a new church instead, and adopt the style of the building in question. Messrs. Wyatt and Brandon, his architects, fell into his views, and the church in which we are now assembled is the successful result.

The date of the west front of Santa Maria at Toscanella, one of the works which served as a type for Wilton church, is supposed to be 1206. It is Lombard in style, but displays so many innovations as to lead to the impression that a northern architect influenced it. Nevertheless, there is the wheel-of-fortune window with the four beasts of the Apocalypse, and the pillars of the central entrance rest on animals.

San Pietro, at Toscanella, has a west front of the same character,—pediment, wheel-window with the evangelistic symbols, arcade beneath it, great central doorway, and smaller entrance on each side to the aisles. The date of this is supposed to be the first half of the eleventh century. The

body of the church belongs to the middle of the seventh century, and is a studious imitation of Roman architecture.

These two fronts, then, afford the type which the architects of Wilton church followed; but the result is by no means a slavish appropriation, and may be taken to embody the characteristics of Lombard churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, exhibiting the effects of Byzantine influences.¹ Against the south wall of the church, outside, is a sarcophagus on cantalivers, surmounted by a roof supported on columns. In this were deposited bones found on the site when preparing the foundations for the new church, thus preserving the connexion which used to exist between the early churches of this character and sepulchral memorials. On a plate beneath the sarcophagus is the following inscription: "Intus reponuntur ossa ovæ hoc sacrosancto loco olim humata hujusce ecclesiæ renovatæ substructiones inter faciundas effossa sunt. Anno Domini nostri 1845."

Entering the church, you will find the plan coincides with that of the early basilican churches already mentioned.

Made to form part of the north doorway is an Elizabethan monument (dated 1626) to William Sharpe and his wife, which was brought from the old church, and affords an example of the ease with which the architecture of the Renaissance may be made to assimilate with that of the Lombards.

Observe the diaper of the west screen, and the mode in which the parapet is made to run round the columns. In it appear the words, "All things come of thee, and of thine own have we given thee." The ceiling over the chancel is decorated with symbols of the Evangelists, and "*Salus Mundi*." The capital of the last column on the north side also has the evangelistic symbols. In another appears the crowned cross with the sacred monogram. Amongst the Christian emblems these were the most common, together with the dove with the olive-branch; the scape-goat, typical of the atonement; the fish, and the vine. "A priest transfixing a dragon with a spear, represented the destruction of paganism. Angels on one side of the portal, and devils on the other, reminded the faithful, as they entered, of the joys of Paradise and the torments of Hell."²

¹ The building was described by Mr. Godwin. The campanile is about one hundred feet in height, and is detached, but connected by an open covered way.

² Gally Knight.

Amongst the pagan symbols, the one the most frequently introduced was the Zodiac; and sometimes Sagittarius appears by himself as the representative of the Zodiac. A Syren is not unfrequent, and probably was meant as a warning against the enticements of the world. The Zodiac will be seen on the soffit of the arch, next the apse.

The font is of varied marbles, and does not at first sight suggest to us ecclesiastical uses: even the adornment on the foot of it—the vine-stem and grapes in *niello*, on white marble—tends to prevent this. In truth, however, as you know, the vine has been a Christian symbol from the earliest time,—a symbol of the labours in the vineyard of the faith, or of the assertion, “I am the Vine.” The early Christians, as Hope pointed out, adopted the pagan emblems and customs, giving to them different associations. The vine of Bacchus and the corn of Ceres served to suggest to those who held by the new faith the Last Supper of their heavenly Master.

To pass to other decorations. Without referring to antique mosaics, it will suffice to speak of the three varieties of Christian mosaics which were employed between the fourth century and the thirteenth century, mainly the work, as we have already seen, of the Greeks of Constantinople. The art was taken from Rome to Byzantium, where the Greeks made it their own.

This *opus Græcanicum* was glass tessellation, used chiefly in church furniture; and of which there are many specimens in Wilton church, especially in the pulpit, the apse, and the small twisted columns supporting marble balls. These mosaics originally formed a shrine or tomb in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, I believe, and were brought to this country from Rome by sir W. Hamilton, having been removed from the church during some alterations in it. They found their way to Strawberry Hill (that curious first-step to the study of mediæval art in England); and when the collection there was dispersed, came into the possession of Mr. Herbert. Some of the other twisted columns and the balls came, I am told, from Palermo. The balls afford an interesting set of specimens of Italian marbles. This *opus Græcum*, or *Græcanicum*, as it has been called, consists in the insertion into grooves (cut in white marble to the depth of about half an inch) of coloured or gilded *smalto*, as the material is termed.

in such combination as to compose geometrical patterns. Other specimens of it may be seen around the north doorway. These forms were combined with slabs of porphyry, serpentine, and other marbles. The work prevailed during several centuries, but was probably not practised earlier than the sixth. The Saracenic workmen improved on the forms used. There is a specimen of this glass tessellation, you will remember, in the shrine of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, executed in 1270.

An earlier kind of glass mosaic is that called *opus Musivum*, which was used for walls and vaults, and in which were produced many glorious decorations, including full-sized figures of the Saviour, the apostles, and martyrs. The pieces of glass used in this are of irregular shapes, and the ground tint is almost invariably gold. Of the third and last variety, the *opus Alexandrinum*, which is of considerable antiquity, there is a small specimen from Italy in the entrance porch here, which, like all the Italian examples, is composed of the three materials—porphyry, serpentine, and a white or slightly coloured marble. In this work geometrical patterns are produced by the arrangement of small cubes. The Byzantine Greeks carried the manufacture of this to a great extent, even if they did not originate it. What is known as “Florentine mosaic” grew out of it in later times.¹ There is a large piece of the *opus Alexandrinum*, of modern workmanship, at the foot of the steps leading to the chancel. This was made, for Mr. Herbert, in Rome.

Some small additions to the old glass tessellation in the pulpit, in the shape of pilasters, etc., are noticeable as specimens of modern English work. The pavement in the chancel was made by Mr. Singer, who strove to imitate the ancient Roman *opus tessellatum*. To get the tesserae of uniform size, good and permanent colour, and sufficient hardness, requires elaborate and ingenious arrangements. The pavement before us is, in some respects, very good; but the colour, in parts, has faded,—a fact to make us admire the more the perfect condition and excellence of pavements, say, sixteen hundred years old, which are ever and anon exhumed, serving to remind us that the Romans were once in this country.

The modern monuments have much artistic excellence.

¹ Those who would study the subject should consult Mr. Digby Wyatt's *Geometrical Mosaic of the Middle Ages*.

The bust of Henry earl of Pembroke, who died January 9, 1749, is inscribed "*Unge serveray.*" The tablet to Elizabeth countess of Pembroke (March 25th, 1793) is by Rossi. The marble sarcophagus in memory of another earl of Pembroke, was executed by the late sir R. Westmacott, R.A., from the design of James Wyatt the architect. The same sculptor executed the fine monument near it to the last earl, George Augustus Herbert, who died October 26, 1827.

Let us now glance at the glass in the windows. The window on the east side of the north door is apparently Flemish, cinque-cento. There is a "pieta" at bottom of earlier date. The second window from east end, on the same side, by Messrs. O'Connor, is inscribed to the memory of Jane Merriel Cherm-side, by her children, August 1852,—“Sorrowing not as without hope.” It includes groups,—Raising of Lazarus, the Widow’s Son, and others. The window next to it, eastward, contains some old glass mixed up, including groups illustrative of the life of the Saviour.

Some of the glass in the north apse is very fine. The date is various, from the thirteenth century upwards. The drawing of the female martyr holding her head in her hand (Ste. Regula) is good. The figure of a bishop, on the south side of this apse, is also excellent: the Saviour admirable.

The windows in the chancel apse, given by lord Bruce, lord Melbourne, and others, include some thirteenth-century glass of fine colour, made up with modern glass. Each group is within a *vesica piscis*—Driving out the Money-Changers, the Flight into Egypt, and others.

There is some remarkable glass in the south apse. Notice the head of the kneeling ecclesiastic; while in the vestry are some small subjects, in circles, of the sixteenth century.¹

There is no doubt whatever of the use of coloured glass in windows as early as the sixth century; and every reason to believe that it was employed in the fourth, if not earlier. Two verses of a description left by Prudentius, of *San Paolo-fuori-le-mura*, built by Constantine, are translated,—“In the rounded windows are displayed panes of glass of various colours: thus do the windows shine when decorated with the flowers of spring.”² In these early times the windows

¹ Several portions of the glass in this church are figured in Mr. Wiaston’s valuable *Inquiry into the Difference of Style observable in Ancient Glass Paintings*.

1859

² Labarte.

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were made simply of pieces of glass of various colours, arranged to form a design,—glass mosaics, in fact. When the art of actually painting glass was first practised, is a subject of controversy. Some of those who have looked into the evidence believe that it was unknown in the ninth century, and there are no examples quoted, to which an earlier date than the eleventh can be assigned with certainty.

The painted glass of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries differs little; and of the glass of this latter period we have some good specimens in the church under consideration.

The glass of the thirteenth century often displays mosaic grounds with small medallions of figures symmetrically distributed, the whole surrounded by borders of conventional foliage and interlacings. The Old and New Testament, and the *Lives of the Saints*, give the subjects for the medallions. The colours are rich. There is rarely any white glass in picture windows; and what is principally sought is the harmonious effect of the whole as a portion of the building. The foliage is conventional; the figure-drawing rude. In the glass of the succeeding century, skill in design and drawing having increased, the windows become more individual works; the figures are larger, one sometimes occupying a whole window, and are placed under more elaborate canopies. In this century, too, is seen, for the first time, the lemon-yellow stain. The foliage has a more natural form. In the windows of the fifteenth century, with even greater tendency to make a picture, we get rich hangings behind the figures, and in the latter part of it first see buildings and landscapes introduced. Much less use is made of pot-metal (glass coloured in the making), more white and light yellow glass is introduced, and the forms are produced by shading in colours. In later times glass came to be regarded simply as a material to be painted on. Pictures by Raffaele and others were copied upon it, and the ruin of the art followed,—not, however, without a brilliant period intervening. In modern times successful endeavours have been made to revive it.

It is to be hoped that we are gradually arriving at correct opinions in respect of painted glass, and that it will be treated more as an art, and less as a manufacture, than has been the case. The amount of bad glass, with much good also, that has been put up in England during the last twenty

years is enormous. We want the best glass, the best colours, and the best drawing, employed on right principles, under artist minds, to produce windows—not pictures painted on glass—which shall be worthy of the age, awakeners of sentiment, and sources of delight.

Various carvings of merit are to be met with in the church, especially those in the west door, inside. The old alms-chest adorned with wrought iron work; and a brass to John Coffer, gentleman, “servant to sir William Herbert”, 1585, should also be noticed.

Without stint, and yet not wastefully, Mr. Sidney Herbert has thus employed various arts to perfect the structure due to his piety and munificence. Such works have a wide influence, and effect much good. They quietly elevate the character of a neighbourhood, which reacts elsewhere. They tend to the improvement of the arts that refine, develope, and adorn; and serve as points of vantage whence others may proceed further. Man is not to live “by bread alone”. The body must be cared for; but the heart and the mind also need cultivation and support.

HISTORY OF SALISBURY BELL-FOUNDRY.

BY REV. W. C. LUKIS, F.S.A.

THE history of the bell-foundries of England is very little known. How many there were, where they were situated, by whom possessed, who were the master-founders in early times,—all these, and other interesting points, we are as yet but imperfectly acquainted with. It is not improbable that each county, in those days of bad roads, irregular communication, and imperfect land-carriage, had at least one foundry, and some counties had several. Wiltshire had three,—one at Devizes, another at Aldbourne, and a third in this city. As far as my investigations have gone, I am induced to believe that the Salisbury foundry was inferior to none in any other county as regards its antiquity, the quality of its bells, and the extent of its business.

It is very remarkable that no tradition of its existence has been preserved. It is the more remarkable when it is considered that the foundry was established at a very early period,—how early it is at present difficult to determine with any certainty,—and ceased to exist little more than one hundred years ago. The only trace of its site is to be found in the street called Culver *alias* Bell-founder's-street.

There is every probability that a bell-foundry was established here at the time of the erection of the present cathedral, when the belfry, a detached building standing on the north side of the church, was likewise erected. A new bell for the cathedral was cast in 1480; and a charge appears in the cathedral accounts for its carriage from the foundry—"de domo eneatoris" (brass-founder) "usque le belfray"—amounting to 3*s.* 4*d.* I must beg you to observe, before passing on, that this bell is stated to have been conveyed to the *belfry*.¹ Alas! the belfry and its glorious bells (one of the largest peals in England) have vanished, and no longer adorn the close and city. The history of this ruthless and deplorable destruction is so well known, that I will only briefly allude to it.

There is not an individual living within the sound of the sole survivor of that noble peal, now hanging in the cathedral tower,—there is not a man belonging to this county, who cares for Christian art,—there will not be a Wiltshire archaeologist of any future generation,—who will not lament, to his dying day, the unpardonable destruction of that most remarkable and interesting building. I have described the destruction as *unpardonable*, because not a single reason of any value has ever been advanced for its demolition. A total absence of taste, of right feeling, of all that belongs to

¹ The most satisfactory representation of the belfry is given in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, from an etching by Hollar, as it appeared in 1625. Our search for an original drawing of this interesting building, coeval with the cathedral, has been in vain. One shaft of Purbeck marble, "embedded in its natural soil, regularly deposited according to the strata of the quarry from which it was derived", formed an upright column supporting the centre, like that of the Chapter House of the cathedral. The spire may be presumed to have been of a later time, and was of wood covered with lead. It was repaired in 1758. Mr. Francis Price proposed a restoration, and his views in regard to this may be seen by the side of the original (*Description of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, etc., Lond., 1774, 4to.; plate 10, p. 35); but it was happily rejected. Mr. Wyatt demolished this fine monument of architectural glory. Miss Wickins exhibited a small model of the building at the Congress. It had been made from Hollar's drawing.

architectural propriety, characterized its overthrow. In a foot-note, vol. i, p. 6, of Winkle's *Cathedrals*, it is said: "On the north-western side of the cathedral formerly stood a bell-tower, coeval with the foundation, which was removed about the year 1770, *in order to afford a better view of the church.*" The author's remarks upon the desecration of the cathedral at that period, equally apply to the belfry. "Revolutions, political and religious, have stripped the church of its sculpture and paintings; but fashion has done more mischief than revolutions, and in the assumed name of taste and improvement has destroyed part of the original plan, and despoiled the cathedral of some of its greatest ornaments.....There is at this time, it is believed, but one opinion respecting the desecration which was then called improvement."

There are several documents in the bishop's muniment room relating to the belfry. One dated November 5, 1758, states that the spire and tower of the belfry being in a dangerous state, are to be taken down, and the belfry finished in a neat and proper way. The tower and spire are pronounced to be "*neither useful nor ornamental.*" In 1762, Nov. 18, application was made to the bishop for leave to take down the bells, to sell six, and make over the proceeds to the fabric fund. Two to be kept, and belfry repaired. It was not, however, until the year 1790 that the work of destruction was carried out. Would that "pale antiquaries", as Pope styles them, had lived in those days, to raise a loud, bold, and vehement protest against such a project! and that an association like the present had existed to save it from so deplorable a fate.

The earliest notice of a bell having been cast in Salisbury, is to be found in the parish accounts of S. Edmund's for the year 1443; and the earliest bell-founder whose name I have met with was Henry Pynkere, who, about the year 1465, recast the fourth bell of that church. "*Et in denar' solut' henrico Pynker' p effusione de novo le quart' campan' hoc anno, lxxv^s.*" In the roll of accounts for the same year are several interesting items respecting the bells; and I think from one of them we may gather that the foundry was situated not far from that church. The money paid "*p capeon' fract' campan' a campanile*" (for the carriage of the broken bell from the tower) to the "castyng house", as the foundry is called in another place, was only 3*d*., and that for a bell

weighing about fifteen hundred weight; whereas in the year 1480 the charge for carrying a bell from the cathedral belfry to the same foundry was as much as 3s. 4*d*. Culver-street, if it be the original "bell-founder's street", is, in fact, but a short distance from S. Edmund's church, on its south side, in the direction of S. Martin's church, and in the latter parish. We learn also from the same accounts that the bell-stock was termed *stipes*; that those who helped to convey the bell were entertained for the munificent sum of 3*d*. (ob.); and that the sexton was one William surnamed "le Bel-ryngg."

Henry Pynkere appears to have carried on the business of the foundry for a considerable period, for in 1467 he cast a bell for S. Edmund's church, called "Dawbeney's bell"; in 1474 he recast the tenor, and in 1495 he was employed to recast the treble and fourth bells. A fatality seems to have attended this same fourth bell. In 1588 John Wallis recast it at a cost of £5. It was crushed and broken by the fall of the tower in 1653, and passed through the furnace in 1656; and in 1846 it once more assumed a new face under the able hands of the Messrs. Mears.

There are several Wiltshire bells which have on their crowns a shield bearing a spread eagle, as at Orcheston S. Mary, Winkerbourne Earls, and Baverstock. It is very likely that they were the work of Henry Pynkere, or of a predecessor, and that this shield was his badge; for in the year 1683, Clement Tosier, a Salisbury founder, revived it, and it is found on one of his bells at Berwick S. James.

Between Henry Pynkere and John Wallis (a period of about eighty years) there must have been one or two founders; but I have not yet been able to meet with their names. There are two bells at Fordington St. George, Dorchester, which would lead us to suppose that Pynkere was succeeded by a John Wallis; the grandfather, probably, of that John Wallis whose works from 1580 to 1633, we are familiar with, and are abundant. The third and fifth bells at Fordington bear a shield, doubtlessly representing the marks of a John Wallis; and as the bells bear the inscriptions—

"*Sancta Catharina ora pro nobis,*"

and—

"*In multis annis resonet campana Johannis,*"

I think we may safely place them between 1495 and 1530.

If my conjecture be right, the foundry must have been in the hands of the Wallis family for nearly a hundred and forty years.

John Wallis, the younger, was associated for a period (from 1624 to 1633) with one John Danton, and was succeeded by him for a short time. Together they cast the fine tenor of Great Bedwyn (c. 28 cwt.), and that of S. Martin in this city (c. 14 cwt.) Among some of Wallis' good works are the tenors of Urchfont (c. 18 cwt.); Bishop's Cummings (c. 17 cwt.); and Netheravon (c. 16 cwt.).

It will be well to give here the succession of Salisbury founders:

	A.D.
Henry Pynkere	1465-1495
John Wallis (?)	1495-1530
John Wallis	1580-1633
Richard Tucke	1624
John Danton	1624-1637
William Purdue	1596-1607
Roger Purdue	1611-1623
William Purdue	1641-1669
Roger Purdue	1650-1680
John Lett	1600-1629
John Lett	1640-1685
E. Lett	1711
Nathaniel Bolter	1654-1664
Jonathan Bolter	1656
Francis Foster	1655-1666
F. Fflower or Flory	1654
R. Fflower or Flory	1675
Clement Tosier	1679-1727
William Tosier	1721-1731
John Tosier	1724.

In examining the foregoing list, it will be observed that many of the founders were more or less associated with each other; the periods of their founding overlapping, in some cases, very considerably. Some of them were probably partners, or foremen in the business before they began to work as master-founders: *e. g.*, at Berwick S. James, the part which each of two brothers took in the process of bell-manufacture is described on a bell,—“Clement Tosier cast me; John Tosier made me.” Clement superintended the furnace and running of the metal; John, the formation of the bell-

mould. In the same way, Wallis, Danton, Tuck,¹ William and Roger Purdue, and John Lett, were all associated; and we may suppose that each had his own department. This fact will convey some idea of the large extent of business which they must have carried on at that time.

John Danton was associated with Wallis, most probably as a partner; and in 1630, shortly before Wallis disappeared from active life, was of sufficient note to be employed by the gentlemen of S. Thomas' vestry for the recasting of their fourth bell. Of him and of his character, as well as of John Wallis, we have nothing to judge from but their own works and words written in *bell-brass*; and we may fairly infer that their real characters were traced in them. Accordingly we deduce that they must have been men of few words,—like Miles Standish, “not makers of [long] phrases”—men of hopeful, trustful, and thankful dispositions,—men of science and genius, for the art of bell-founding is not one that any fool may practise, its principles require to be intelligently studied and scientifically exercised,—men, too, of strong will, who despised the strict rules of orthography: “In the Lord doo I trust”; “Prayes ye the Lord”; “Glorifi God”; “God be our guyd”; “Feare God, love thy nabor”; “Seke the Lord”; “Be meke and loly to heare the worde of God”; “Searve God”; “Geve God thankses”; “O man, be meke, and lyve in rest.” Only once did they condescend to a rhyming legend,—

“Be strong in faythe, prayes God well;
Francis, countess Hertford's bell.”

As a rule, with very few exceptions, Wallis and Danton's epigraphs partake of a religious character. The elder William Purdue followed them in this respect; but not so the other Purdues. Roger's rule was simply to record the date of the casting, *e. g.*, “an^o dñi 1611.” The junior William Purdue occasionally produced a legend of a religious character; but it was more often verbose and rhythmical, and had reference to the art of bell-ringing, the principles of which were then becoming better understood under the scientific guidance and teaching of Fabian Stedman, *e. g.*,—

“I in this pleace am second bell,
I'll shurly doe my parte as well.”

¹ Richard Tucke's department was the making of the “brasses”, as appears from several old parish accounts.

“I am the first, although but small
Yet will be heard above you all.”

At this period churchwarden's names constantly occur.

Before taking our leave of the Purdues, I must state that William and Roger went over to Ireland, and cast six bells for St. Canice cathedral, at Kilkenny, in the year 1674. In the history of that church, recently published, it is stated that “the Purdues appear to have been inhabitants of Kilkenny”, and that “the name has only become extinct there in the present generation.” I think this must be a mistake, and that Wiltshire, and not Kilkenny, may lay claim to the Purdues as her children. If the name is now extinct in Kilkenny, it continues to flourish in Wiltshire. These bells have been recast, but the old legends had—“Nos fudit Rogerus Purdue cum sociis”; “Rogerus Purdue et Gulielmus fuderunt nos omnes”; and “fudere G. Covey cum sociis”.¹ Perhaps “Covey” has been misread for “Cokey” or “Cockey”, many of whose bells occur in Wiltshire. William and Roger Purdue also cast the sixth and seventh bells of the St. Patrick's peal, Dublin; but whether at Salisbury or in Ireland does not appear.

Of the remaining Salisbury founders little need be said. The bells cast by them were generally small, and their legends were generally similar in character to those of the later Purdues.

I will conclude this account of the bell-foundry with a few matters of interest gathered from parish accounts in this city. One very interesting fact is the precise period when an alteration of some importance was made in the form of bell-wheel. Up to the year 1620, bells were rung by means of a half-wheel; but at this date a three-quarter wheel was introduced to enable the bells to be rung higher and in better time.

1620.² Pd to Nicholas Perrie for makeing a wheele for y^e
five a clock bell, and to bring the rest of the bell-
wheeles to more compas xxxvijs.
To two carpenters of Wilton, w^{ch} uppon occasions
weare scntt for abought settling of our bells ijs.

¹ Hist. Architect., etc., of Cath. Church of S. Canice, pp. 50, 51.

² Parish accounts of St. Edmund's.

Gave Kingsonn of Ffisherton in erneste to p'forme the wheelinge & setlinge our bells in order ffor to be rung vj compase	vjd.
The same Kingsonn ffor ffinishing the worke	iiij <i>l</i> .
ffor ffylinge & mendinge 5 paire of gudgins ffor the bells	iis. iiij <i>l</i> .
P ^d M ^r Wallis ffor a paire of brasses ffor the bells	vs. vjd.

The ringers must have been induced, by this alteration in the wheel, to ring more vigorously than ever, for in the following year we find—

P ^d ffor a labourer to helpe the sexton to sett upp the 5th & 6th bells into there frames. They both ffell out of ther places in ringinge a peale	xij <i>l</i> .
--	----------------

Again, in 1622,—

P ^d to Will'm Dennes for makeing a new wheele for the greate bell	xs.
To Pettibone for a new gudgine & bawdricke ffor the greate bell	xs.
For a peece of timber to laie uppon the bell stocke	iiij <i>s</i> .
For newe making the v th bell clapper, beinge broken offe by the bole	xvs.
To the sexton for 4 daies worke in settinge upp the greate bell, the gudgins beinge broken, and the bell out of his fframe	iiij <i>s</i> .
To John Bowen, sexton, for mending the 2 ^d bell wheele, beinge broken in peeces, & for newe trussinge the 2, 3, 4, & 5 bells	vs.
For a boxe to sett upp in the ringinge lofte for the ringers bene- volence towards the maintinance of the bells	iiij <i>s</i> .

In the year 1630 the new form of wheel is distinctly mentioned in the accounts:

P ^d Will'm Batten, joyner, for a three q'ter bell wheele	vs.
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Again, in 1636,—

P ^d the joyner for making a 3 q'ter wheele to the v th bell, & for other things	ix <i>s</i> .
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The same accounts also acquaint us with all the circumstances attending the removal of a broken bell to the foundry in the days of James I. First of all Mr. Wallis is sent for by the gentlemen of the vestry. The cost of new metal and of recasting is agreed to. A bond, for which the parish pay 1*s*. 6*d*. is drawn up, and signed by Wallis; wherein he binds himself to supply a tuneable bell, which shall be sound for the space of twelve months and a day. Labourers are then employed to take the bell down, who receive between them

the large sum of 6*d.*, and 6*d.* more for drink. The "bell-founder's boye" comes in for 3*d.*, whether for helping or looking on does not appear. A man is despatched to borrow a "great rope or cable" and pulleys from the cathedral, for the use of which 1*s.* is paid. The messenger receives 8*d.* for his trouble, and the same amount on returning them. The rope, on one occasion, is damaged, and Ralph, the sexton of St. Thomas', is employed to "shut" or splice it. A windlass or "treading wheele" is used for lowering the bell, which is then placed upon a "slead" or sledge, borrowed, or, as in one instance, made¹ for the purpose, and drawn through the street to the "castyng house". This is a thirsty process for all employed, and accordingly we find the entries, "Pⁱ to the belfounders' men to make them drinke, v*j**d.*"; "Layed out for heaping up of the bels for drinkinge money, iii*j**d.*"

Among a heap of mutilated and rotting accounts, I discovered one of Mr. Wallis' bonds (date 1588), with a copy of which I will close this paper:

".....p pntes me Johēm Wallys de civitate Nove Sarū in com Wiltes' bellfounder teneri et firmiter [obligari] Jacobo Leylande et Rogero Thorpe gardianis ecclie pochialis de St. Edmundi infra civitate Nove Sarū in com Wiltes' in quadraginta libris bone et legalis monete Anglie solvend' eisdēm Jacobo et Rogero pdcis aut eorū alteri seu eorū cert' alterū successoribus vel assignat' suis ad quam quidem solut' [bene et fidelit'] faciend' obligo me hered' execut' et administrat' meos firmiter p pntes sigillo meo sigillat' [dat'.]..die octobris anno regni dñe nre Elizabethe Dei grā Anglie franc' et hib'nic regine fidei defens' tricesimo.

Signed sealed & deliv'ed in the

presence of Tho. Pyttman

morrys Gavatlatt

Robert Dank

George Eton² Arm'."

On the back of the foregoing bond is the following:

"The condycōn of this obligacōn is suche that if the w^{thin} bounden John Wallys his execut' [at their] owne pper costs and

¹ "Pd unto Wylliam Weelier for makeinge off a slidd to draw the bells to the church, v*j**d.*"

² In the roll of accounts for this year is entered, "It'm paid to George Eton for the maken of John Wallis his band, xvii*j**d.*"

chardgs do well and truly trye milte & caste or cause to be tr[ye]d melted & casted for] the p[re]shioners of the p[re]sche church of St. Edmund's wthin the cite of Newe Sarū in the cou[n]tye of Wiltes'] the fflowerthe bell to be tunable in all things to accord & agree together in hermonye [& mussicke wth the] ffyve bells of the same p[re]sche church aforesaid And so to contynewe sownde pfect [& tuneable as he ought] and shoulde be by the space and tyme of one whole yere & one daye from & after the d[ay]e & yere] next followinge ffully to be compleate and ended And if it happen that the sayd bell [shall through the negligence] of the said John Wallys or his assignes be faulty and do not agree tuneable wth [the other bells aforesaid during] the sayd tyme & tearme That then if the sayd John Wallys his execut' or assignes do [well & trewly at his & their own cost &] chardgs uppon sufficient & reasonable warnynge or notice thereof to him or them geven [fetch carry or re-carry] the sayd fflowerthe bell from the church gate or stile of St. Edmunds aforesaid when [& as often as need shall] requyer beinge their deliv'ed by the wythin named churchwardens their successors [or assignes unto the sayd] John Wallys or his assignes to be newe casted or the same bell sufficiently amend [& make tuneable] & agree together in hermonye & mussicke wth thother bells aforesaid And so to [contynewe afterwards in like] mann' sownde pfecte good & tuneable by the space & tyme of one whole yere and one daye [as before ys exp'ssed] And moreover it is agreed by & betweene the sayd pties that the churchwardens ther [successors or] assignes shall paye or cause to be payed unto the said John Wallys or his assignes sixe pence [of currant] English moneye for ev'ye & eache pownde of bell metle w^{ch} he the sayd John Wallys or his [assignes shall hereafter] putt in to the said fflowerthe bell over and besides his onely weighte before the castinge thereof And [also yf the sayde] John Wallys his executors or assignes do paye or cause to be payed unto the sayde churchwardens their executors or assignes fower pence of lawfull English moneye for ev'ye & eache pownde of bell metle that [the sayd bell] shall lack of his weight before the castinge thereof beinge lawfully requyred of the said John Wallys [his execut' or assignes] at his nowe dwelling house That then this p[re]sent obligacō to be voyd & of none effect or e[ff]lse yt to] remayne & be in his full force strength effect & vertue."¹

¹ The mutilated and illegible passages are supplied from a similar bond existing at Fordingbridge.

ON EXCAVATIONS AT GIB HILL TUMULUS.

BY THOS. BATEMAN, ESQ.

THE large barrow called Gib Hill, situated about three hundred and fifty yards west of the circular temple of Arborlow, with which it is connected by a serpentine ridge of earth, was previously examined, in 1824, by my father, without any satisfactory result. From the close analogy borne by Arborlow and its satellite, Gib Hill, to the arrangement of the Temple of Abury and the Hak-Pen, I had always considered this tumulus as one of more than usual interest, the successful investigation of which might possibly afford some evidence as to the dubious period of the foundation of the neighbouring circle; and I therefore determined to make a thorough examination of its interior. Owing to the large size of the mound, which is elevated upwards of fifteen feet above the surrounding land, our operations extended over several days; and the result of each day's labour is here noted in the order of time, as being at once the most simple and intelligible mode of recording our observations.

January 10th, 1848, was occupied in removing the upper part of the hill, commencing the trench about half way up its side. A few splinters of animal bone, and one flake of calcined flint only, were the product of the day.

January 11th.—The cutting was continued to its intended extent across the mound, yielding more animal bones, a dog's tooth, numerous calcined flakes of flint, and a neatly formed arrow-head of the same substance.

January 12th.—The trench being widened, a space almost, but not entirely, in the centre of the mound was found to be composed of loose stones; whilst the outer part of the barrow, as far as it was exposed by the cutting, appeared to consist of tempered earth approaching the tenacity of clay. In the course of the day a small piece of the border of an ornamented urn of imperfectly baked pottery, an arrow-point, a circular instrument, and many chippings of flint, were found.

January 13th was passed in deepening the trench, principally through the before mentioned clay, which was varied

by layers of decomposed wood and pieces of charcoal. From the appearance of the bark which yet remained on some of these fragments, they were concluded to be hazel. Amongst them were found animal bones and flints, as before; one of the latter being a fine instrument, of semicircular shape.

January 14th.—Our excavation was continued until the undisturbed surface of the earth was reached, and laid bare for the compass of 25 feet by 18, without our discovering any interment whatever. The section of the barrow presented the appearance of its having been originally raised upon four smaller mounds, each consisting of the clay before mentioned, intermixed with wood and charcoal, the superimposed materials being of a looser description, and mingled with stones. (Plate 12, fig. 1.) Upon the natural soil, below the little mounds, lay flints as before, including a round instrument and bones of oxen much decayed.

January 15th. A tunnel was driven from the west side of the excavation, in the hope of discovering an interment; but after proceeding a few feet it was deemed insecure, the supporting timbers were knocked away, and the whole suffered to fall in; by which, much to the surprise of all present, a square cistern was exposed to view, embedded in the upper part of the barrow. It was formed of four massy limestones, with a fifth by way of cover, which, from its furrowed surface, must have lain exposed to atmospheric influence for ages previous to being applied as capstone to this miniature cromlech; where it was hidden by eighteen inches only of earth, forming the apex of the tumulus. In fact, the men had been working directly beneath the ponderous fabric for some time in the tunnel. By the sudden fall of two of its sides and the adjacent earth, a very pretty vase, of small size, was crushed to pieces, the fragments mingling with the burnt human bones, in company with which it had for centuries occupied the cist. This urn is represented in fig. 2. Its actual height is four inches and a quarter; and it is now restored almost to its original perfection.

From the above particulars it does not seem likely that Gib Hill was, in the first instance, devoted to sepulchral purposes; so large a portion of the interior having been removed down to the undisturbed surface where the natural rock made its appearance, without the discovery of any

human remains, that it seems impossible for any interment to remain undiscovered, in the usual position, at the base of the mound, at or near its centre.

17th January.—A horse's tooth of considerable length, and a narrow piece of white flint, were found in the rubbish, which had fallen out of the cist the day before. The cist itself was removed, and re-created in the garden at Lombardale, where it now remains. It is represented in fig. 3.

The articles found by Mr. William Bateman in 1824, comprised a battered celt, of close-grained greenstone; a dart, or javelin-head, of flint; and a small iron fibula, much corroded, which has been enriched by a setting of some kind of precious stone, now absent. This last object was from the upper part of the barrow, and was doubtless deposited with a late interment, which had been accidentally disturbed and removed about the year 1812 or earlier. (See *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*, p. 31.)

PEMBRIDGE CASTLE.

BY THOS. WAKEMAN, ESQ.

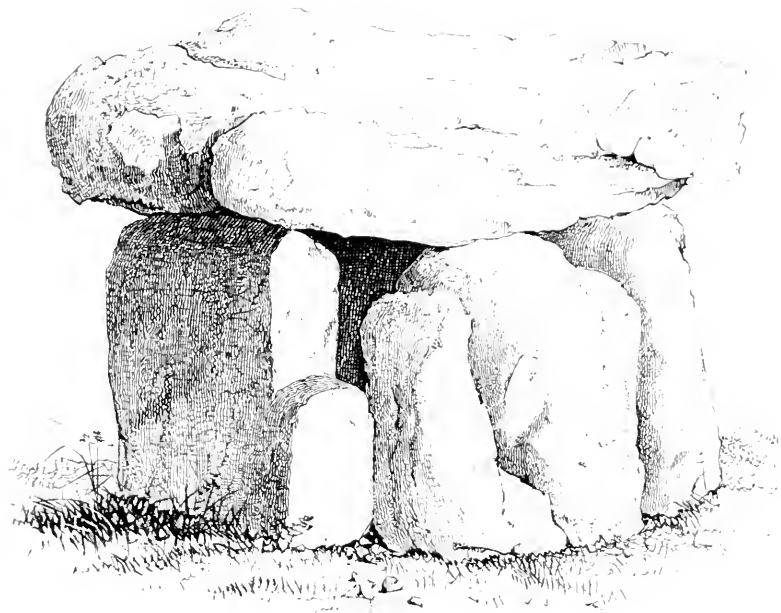
IN the southern part of the county of Hereford, in the parish of Welshnewton, five miles from Monmouth, stands this border fortalice of uncertain antiquity, very little known, and seldom visited by strangers, called Pembridge, or more properly Pembridge's Castle; as there can be no doubt that it acquired the name from having been the property of the ancient family called De Pembridge, from the town of that name, some twenty-five miles distant, in the same county, which was their principal seat. This it is necessary to bear in mind to prevent the one place being mistaken for the other. Every one at all acquainted with the county knows the ancient borough town of Pembridge; but few, comparatively, know this little castle in Welshnewton. It, however, very well deserves the attention of the archæologist from

certain very extraordinary peculiarities in its construction, which are supposed to be unique. The general idea of the building (see plan, plate 13) is a quadrangle, the sides facing the four cardinal points very nearly. In round numbers, it is about forty-five yards from north to south, and thirty-five from east to west. The entrance (see plate 14) is on the south side, and in its arrangement is very similar to that at Goodrich, on the Wye, only on a smaller scale. Commencing between two towers of unequal size, the smaller one standing on the south-east angle of the enclosure, a dark, vaulted passage, thirty-three feet in length, led to the court-yard. In front of this entrance was a drawbridge, which, like that at Goodrich, seems to have been contrived so that when drawn up it should exactly fit, and close up the whole front of the gateway between the towers. The bridge no longer exists; and this part of the moat is now filled up to allow of a passage to the interior.

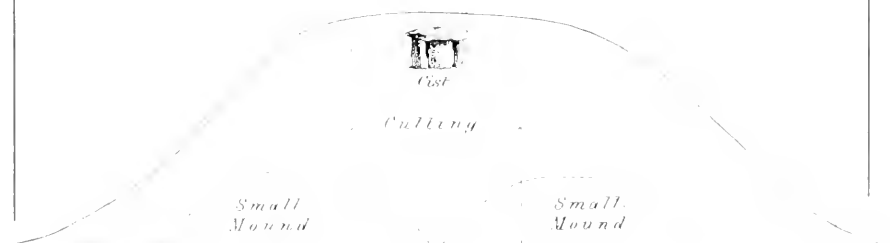
The smaller or right hand tower is so dilapidated that its exact size cannot very easily be ascertained. It seems to have contained a newel staircase in the circular part. The passage contained two, if not three, gates, with machicolations between them; and two portcullises, the grooves for which are so unusually narrow that the frames must have been of iron. On the left of the passage, about half way down, a doorway opened into a vaulted room (twenty-two feet by thirteen) with a narrow lancet-window looking out on the moat and bridge, another to the court-yard, and a loophole opening into the passage, just within the entrance. There was no fireplace in this room; but one appears in that above it. The vault has fallen in, and also a considerable portion of the entrance passage, the right hand side of which is too dilapidated to enable one to state exactly what it originally contained; but there is a loophole opening into the passage, nearly opposite the one on the left. There is a curious hollow in the wall, to which there appears to have been no access except by descending from the room above, which has a loophole towards the court. The use of this is very obscure.

On entering the court, a mass of masonry on the right seems to have been the foundation of a flight of steps giving access to the battlements of the eastern curtain wall. Turning to the left, at a distance of about thirty feet, a door

3



1

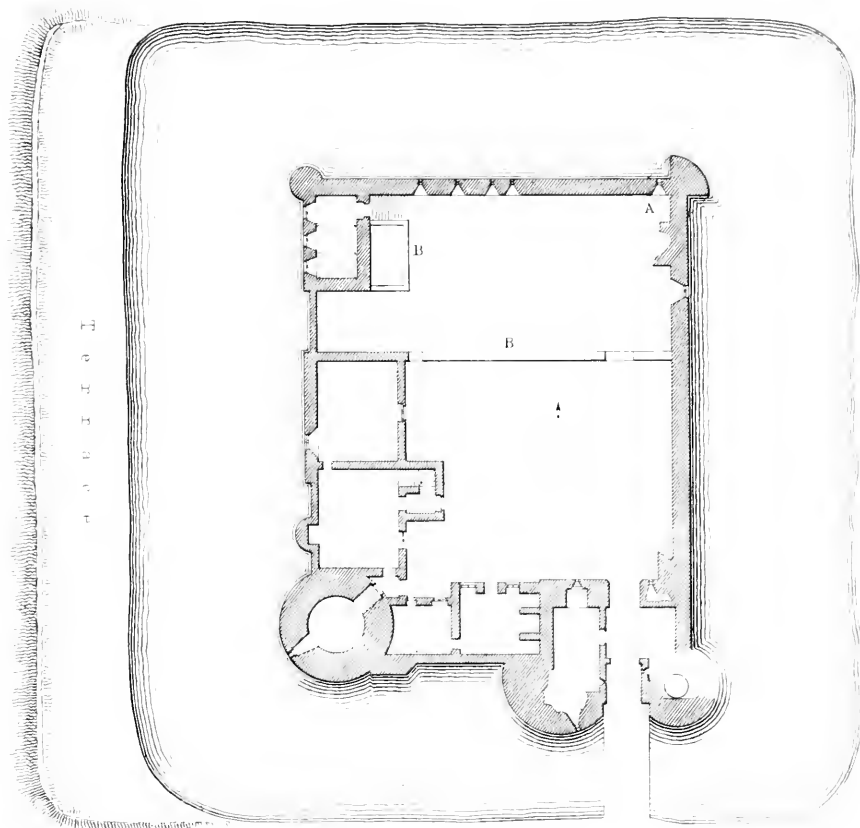


2





PLAN OF PEMBRIDGE CASTLE.



Scale 50 Feet to an Inch.

Note B B are Modern Walls



2



3



N.E. Angle of Wall at A
Scale 10 Feet to an Inch

between two plain, square-headed windows opens to what, judging from the size of the fireplace (the jambs of which project six feet into the room), must have been a kitchen. It is now used as a washhouse. Beyond it is another room, now the farmer's dairy, which adjoins the great tower or keep. The floors above these rooms have disappeared, but the beams and joists remain.

The keep tower occupies the south-west angle of the building. The only entrance to it at present is by a flight of steps descending from the court-yard into the basement, which is used as a cellar. I am inclined to think that these steps are comparatively modern, in order to adapt the donjon to its present purpose, and that the original entrance was to the floor above by means of moveable steps. There were three floors above the donjon; but they have all disappeared, and the whole is open to the roof. The block of building on the west side the court-yard, adjoining to the keep tower, is now the farm-house; and has been so altered in order to adapt it to that purpose, that the original design of the different parts is not to be easily ascertained: the present internal divisions are not, therefore, laid down on the plan. I think the room immediately adjoining the tower was the great hall. It now comprises the farmer's kitchen and a small parlour. The staircase is undoubtedly original. It occupies a square turret, as shewn in the plan, projecting into the court-yard, of which one half the ground-floor forms the entrance porch. The steps are solid blocks of oak, five feet long. The length of the building occupied as the farm-house is sixty feet; but modern windows have been inserted, and the front next the court has been rough-cast; so that although I believe the walls are ancient, it is impossible to say positively that they are so. A modern wall, from the north-east angle of the house, divides the area into two parts or courts. Whatever buildings may have stood in the north court originally, the greater part has disappeared; but what remains is the most curious part of the whole building.

In the north-west angle of the court is a building beneath which is an arched vault (twenty-two feet and a half by eleven), to which there is access by a flight of steps adjoining the north curtain-wall. What the superstructure was originally intended for, it would be difficult to say. At pre-

sent it is used by the tenant as a receptacle for all sorts of implements and lumber; of which it was so full at the time of my visit, as to preclude any close examination of the interior.

The north-west angle is supported by a very singular, turret-like, circular buttress, about seven feet in diameter, of solid masonry. It occurred to me that the adjoining building may have been a chapel, and that this extraordinary mass of masonry may have terminated in a campanile. The building immediately adjoining this, which, for distinction sake, I will call a chapel, appears to be modern. Four small and very rudely finished loopholes in the north curtain-wall, I suspect, were formed during the civil war of the seventeenth century, to command the stables, etc., which stand at some little distance in this direction. A lancet-window near the north-east angle of the court, is original, and gave light to what was evidently a bakery. The remains of the oven shew it to have been six or seven feet in diameter. The north curtain-wall here remains of its original height; and the hood of the roof shews that the ridge ran from north to south, and the building probably extended forty feet or more in this direction.

The solid, turret-like buttress we have noticed at the north-west angle of the castle, is singular enough; but the termination of the north-east angle is still more extraordinary. It is a solid mass of masonry, the ground plan of which is a quarter of a circle of eleven feet radius; the straight sides projecting at right angles from the north and east walls, respectively, seven feet. This was carried up higher than the ridge of the roof of the adjoining building, and so remains. At this height the angles formed by this singular structure and the curtain-walls, and that formed by the walls themselves, were arched over in the direction of the dotted lines. (See plan.) The arch over the interior remains entire; the others have fallen, but the springers remain, shewing where they have been. I conjecture that the platform so formed was surmounted by a watch-turret, either circular or octagonal, to which there was access from the battlements of the eastern curtain-wall by steps, or an inclined plane, from near the point where the modern wall dividing the courts intersects; from which the ascent is still comparatively easy, although the steps, if there were any, have dis-

appeared. When viewed from the north-east, this singular structure has all the appearance of a round tower; and it is difficult to conceive why the builder did not make it a tower, which would have required but little more materials, if that had been an object worth consideration; but as the stone was raised on the spot, out of the moat, that could not have been his reason. If anything similar to this exists elsewhere, I venture to hope some of our associates will communicate the particulars to the Association.

The whole building is surrounded by a moat thirty-six feet wide. Outside this, on the west, is a terrace twenty-five feet in width, defended by a banquette of earth. A similar terrace is found at Goodrich, on the side next the great hall; and the intention appears to have been to prevent an enemy from approaching near enough to discharge missiles into the windows.

The history of this place is involved in obscurity, being a mesne-fee. The public records give us no information on the subject; and, till a comparatively late date, never mention either the castle, or the parish in which it is situate,—at least under its present name. The name, *Nova Villa Wallicana*, leads to the conclusion that the church is comparatively modern, and has replaced some older fabric, probably destroyed, or not so conveniently situate. I believe this is the case; and I recognize the parish of Welshnewton, which is a chapel to Garway, in the hamlet or chapelry of St. Wolstan's mentioned in the records of the Knights Templars and Knights of St. John, as an appendage to Garway. Some remains of the chapel of St. Wolstan still exist, or at least did a few years ago. It stood a considerable distance from the present church, which is dedicated to St. Mary.

I will take the opportunity of noticing a mistake into which the learned editors of *The Extent of the Estates of the Knights of St. John* (published by the Camden Society) have fallen, in order to correct it. In the text, St. Wolstan occurs, at page 197, as a member of Garway. In the index, where they attempt to identify the different localities, they refer to it twice: first, thus,—“*St. Woolos (Sanctus Wolstanus), Monmouthshire, a limb of Garway, Herefordshire*”; and a second time thus,—“*Wolstanus, v. Sanctus Wolstanus, under St. Woolos.*” Nothing is more hazardous than jumping at conclusions, from the fanciful similarity of local names.

Neither the Templars nor Hospitallers had any property whatever in St. Woolos in Monmouthshire: moreover, the Latin appellation of St. Woolos is "Sanctus Gunleus", not "Wolstanus". The one, a Welsh saint, lived in the fifth century; the latter, a Saxon of the eleventh. A little local knowledge would be very useful to gentlemen who write annotations of this sort. The Hospitallers had in their own hands, when the survey was made by the provincial prior, Philip de Thame,—a cast of whose beautiful official seal and counter-seal, from a lease of the 27th Edward III (1353), I now have the pleasure of submitting to the Association (pl. 13, figs. 2 and 3),—in St. Wolstan's, a messuage and one hundred acres of arable land, with an uncertain quantity of pasture; the yearly value of the whole being 37s. This could not have been the castle in question, and the lands adjoining, which no doubt had been granted out in fee-farm, or some other tenure, to the family of De Pembrige. But their estate, by whatever tenure they held, seems to have reverted in some way, or was surrendered to their superior lords the knights, if the authorities I shall refer to may be depended upon. Certain it is that down to the middle of the last century, the castle and manor belonging to it were acknowledged to be holden of the lord of Garway by certain rents and services regularly paid and performed.

The history of Herefordshire is yet to be written. The one began by Duncombe, but never finished, is, I believe, the only one that has appeared in print; but several collections of great value are extant in manuscript,—among them two folio volumes, by a gentleman of the name of Blount, appear to have been compiled with great care early in the last century, I believe. In his time the public records were not accessible but at an expense of money and time which few collectors were disposed to submit to; whence I infer that he derived his information from private sources to us unknown. He states that a lord Cantalupe was appointed governor of this castle in the reign of Henry III. I have searched the records in order to verify this, if possible, and to discover what connexion there was between the families of Pembrige and Cantalupe. A Ralph de Penebruge is mentioned in the close rolls as living in 1213; and it appears that he died before 19th May 1216, when king John granted the custody of the heir and his lands to William de Canta-

lupe; which grant was renewed and confirmed by Henry III on 9th November 1221. No particulars of the estate of Ralph de Penebruge anywhere appear; but I think we may infer that Blount had some evidence, which he considered satisfactory, that Penbridge Castle was in the custody of Cantalupe; and we here discover under what circumstances it was so. He goes on to say that, in the reign of Edward III, sir Richard de Pembridge made it his principal residence. In the Knights Templars' roll (1st Edward I, 1273), a Gilbert de Pembrugg, clerk, appears to have been one of the fraternity; and in *The Extent of the Lands of the Hospitallers*, in 1338, "Gilbert de Penebrigg, capellan," had his corrody at the high table ("*ad mensam fratrum*") in contradistinction to "*ad mensam servientium*," etc. He had also a pension of 20s. by grant of the chapter. If he were the same person, he must have been nearly one hundred years old.

Blount gives no further account of the family of Pembridge in connexion with this place, but tells us that, in the reign of Henry VII, it belonged to the knights of St. John. It follows that the estate of the Pembridges in the property had in some way ended, and it had fallen into the hands of their superior lords the knights. He goes on to say that, after the dissolution, it was granted to one Baynham; was forfeited by his attainder, 2nd Elizabeth; was then sold to David Baker, who resold it to sir Walter Pye the elder; and that the last sir Walter Pye sold it to George Kemble, who repaired and made it habitable as it was in 1675. I have not succeeded in finding the grants to Baynham or Baker; but I know it belonged to sir Walter Pye at the outbreak of the civil war. And Corbet tells us that it was garrisoned by the Royalists, but taken by Massy in 1644, and dismantled. It was afterwards the property of the Townleys of Lancashire, from whom it was purchased by the late sir Joseph Bailey.

This is all that I have been able to discover of the history of Pembridge Castle; which, however, affords no clue to the era of its construction, nor to the peculiarities of its architecture. The repairs effected by George Kemble could have been nothing more than adapting a part of it to the purposes of a farm-house, as we now see it.

Proceedings of the Association.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

APRIL 13.

JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

MR. ALLEN read the following report, and communicated the balance sheet of the auditors of the treasurer's accounts for the year 1858 :

"The auditors appointed to examine the treasurer's accounts for the year 1858, have the gratification of reporting to the Annual General Meeting the satisfactory condition of the Association.

"The receipts during the year have amounted to £365 : 13 : 0 ; and the disbursements during the same period, to £363 : 0 : 10 ; thus leaving a balance in favour of the society of £2 : 12 : 2 on the year ; which, added to the previous balance in favour of the society, of 1857, places the sum of £17 : 6 : 9 in the hands of the treasurer.

"It is satisfactory to the auditors to be able to assure the members of the continued prosperity of the Association, fifty associates having been elected during the past year, whilst thirteen have deceased, and thirteen have withdrawn ; thus numerically strengthening the Association by twenty-four.

"It is gratifying to find that, notwithstanding the effort made in 1857 to relieve the society from all debt, by the conversion of twenty annual subscribers into life members, the diminution in the annual subscriptions thus occasioned has been more than compensated by the additional associates, and by the economy pursued consistently with sustaining the quarterly journal of the society in its high character both as regards anti-quarian information and artistic illustration. The expenditure has been made to correspond with the income, and the Association kept free of any liabilities or embarrassment.

"The auditors regret that it should be necessary to remove from the list of associates any whose subscriptions have remained, after many applications, unpaid ; but it is essential to preserve the Association in a healthy state, and they concur, therefore, with the council in recommending the removal of seven names from the list of members.

"The auditors would take this opportunity of expressing their regret

that the donation fund in aid of the illustration of the *Journal* has, during the past year, been so insignificant in amount; but it has probably arisen from the efforts made during the preceding year, and the liberality then evinced to respond to the appeal of the council to discharge all debt against the Association. As, however, the *Journal* of the Association appears to be only adequate to meet the demands, the auditors would urge upon such members as are anxious to continue unimpaired this important record of their proceedings, to hold this necessity in their remembrance, and by their liberality to remove from the council the embarrassment which must accrue from the mere possession of such confined resources.

“It would be unjust on the part of the auditors to close this report without making acknowledgment of the services of the treasurer, whose accuracy in the keeping of the accounts, and incessant attention to the publication of the *Journal*, have served materially to place and sustain the Association in the position it now so honourably and effectively fills among our societies for the promotion of antiquarian knowledge.

WM. E. ALLEN }
CHRISTⁿ LYNCH } *Auditors.*

“11th April 1859.”

The treasurer delivered in the following lists of associates elected, withdrawn, and deceased, for 1858:

Associates elected, 1858:

The marquis of Ailesbury
The lord Arundel of Wardour
The hon. John F. Arundell
Sir Edmund Antrobus, bart.
Robert Boyd, M.D.
Ambrose Boyson
Edward W. Brodie
The earl of Carnarvon
George A. Carthew, F.S.A.
Stephen Catterson
F. J. Culley
Richard Cuming
Lady Dillon
Charles Wentworth Dilke
William Enderby
Rev. Daniel J. Eyre, M.A., sub-
dean, Salisbury cathedral
Rev. Arthur Fane, M.A., prebend-
ary of Salisbury cathedral
Robert Golding
William Goulden
John Gray
Charles E. Hammond
Rev. J. D. Hastings, M.A.
Frederick D. Hibbert
Edwin Hickey
George Richard Illiard, M.D.

Gordon M. Hills
Roger Horman-Fisher, jun.
Lewis W. Jarvis
Rev. Francis Lear, M.A.
Rev. W. Collings Lukis, M.A., F.S.A.
James J. Macintyre
Matthew Henry Marsh, M.P.
Captain John Oldmixon, R.N.
John Peck
Joseph W. Previt 
Edward Ravenhill
William Foster Rooke, M.D.
The right rev. the lord bishop of
Salisbury
J. Sheppard Scott
William Sim
Rev. Thos. Spyers, D.D.
Coard Squarey, mayor of Salisbury
Henry J. Stevens
John Stuart, Sec. S.A. Scot.
Edward Studd
Henry J. F. Swayne
Rev. Francis Henry Wilkinson, M.A.
Rev. John Wilkinson, M.A.
Thomas Bonsor Winsor
Percy Woolley.

1858. RECEIPTS.		1858. PAYMENTS.	
Balance due to the Association at the audit of 1858	£ s. d. 14 14 7	Printing and publishing Journal for the year	£ s. d. 199 19 0
Annual and life subscriptions	£ s. d. 283 10 0	Illustrations on account of Journal	64 11 8
<i>Donations:</i>		Binding of vol. xiii, Journal	5 0 0
Thomas Wakeman, esq.	2 2 0	Miscellaneous printing	16 0 0
J. R. Jobbins, esq.	2 2 0	Rent of room for public meetings	13 13 0
G. A. Cape, esq.	1 1 0	Delivery of the Journals	20 0 0
H. Syer Cumming, esq.	1 1 0	Postage, advertisements, notices, etc.	23 14 0
H. Harrod, esq., three plates and two woodcuts	6 6 0	Stationery and books	9 13 2
T. J. Pettigrew, esq., four plates of grammar school seals		Petty expenses, gratuities, carriage of anti- quities, etc.	10 10 0
Walter Hawkins, esq., plate of Vision of Henry I		Balance in favour of the Association	17 6 9
Rev. Dr. Nicholson, woodcut of arms of St. Albans Abbey			<u>£380 7 7</u>
Sale of publications	29 16 6		
Balance from Salisbury Congress	46 0 6		
	<u>£380 7 7</u>		
Balance brought forward	17 6 9		
		Wm. E. ALLEN } <i>Auditors.</i> CHRIST ^a LYNCH }	
			11th April 1859.

Resignations :

Sir J. Bernard Burke
H. W. Caird
John J. Chalmers
James Coape
The lord Delamere
John Hay
Lawrence Heyworth

Henry Holl
Rev. J. Papillon, M.A.
W. H. Palin
Sir Joseph Paxton, M.P.
S. C. Westfahl
Robert White

Deceased :

Sir Edw. North Buxton, Bart., M.P.
John Young Caw, F.S.A.
His grace the duke of Devonshire,
K.G.
John Rose Hall
John James Moss
Major Edmund Sheppard

Rev. Henry Street, M.A.
Dawson Turner, F.R.S., F.S.A.
Francis Babington Tussaud
John Webb
Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, M.A.
Thomas Woolley
Benjamin Wyon

Corresponding member.—Charles Ade.

The council recommended to the General Meeting to remove the following names from the list of associates in arrear of their subscriptions :

Dr. Trevor Morris, Chepstow	5 years due
James Lewis, Church-court, Clement's-lane	4 ditto
Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A., Derby	4 ditto
Lieut. Driver, R.M., Forton Barracks, Gosport	4 ditto
Rev. David Carson, M.A., Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex	4 ditto
John Myers, 41, Old Bond-street	4 ditto
Cornwall Baron Wilson, Furnival's Inn Chambers	4 ditto.

The meeting unanimously concurred with the recommendation of the council.

The thanks of the meeting were voted to the auditors for their report.

Thanks were also voted to the president, vice-presidents, officers, and council, for the past year.

A ballot was taken for officers and council for 1859-60, and upon examination of the lists the following were declared elected :

PRESIDENT.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

BENJ. BOND CABELL, Esq., F.R.S.,
F.S.A.
SIR F. DWARRIS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.
NATHANIEL GOULD, F.S.A.

JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.
JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.
SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON, D.C.L.,
F.R.S.

Treasurer—T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

Honorary Secretaries { J. R. PLANCHÉ, Rouge Croix.
H. SYER CUMING.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence—WILLIAM BEATTIE, M.D.

Palæographer—W. H. BLACK, F.S.A.

Curator and Librarian—GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.

Draughtsman—HENRY CLARKE PIDGEON.

COUNCIL.

GEORGE G. ADAMS
GEORGE ADE
CHARLES AINSLIE
THOMAS ALLOM
ALFRED BURGESS, F.S.A.
HENRY H. BURNELL
GEORGE AUGUSTUS CAPE
JAMES COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S.
CHARLES CURLE

GEORGE VERE IRVING
T. W. KING, F.S.A., *York Herald*
WM. CALDER MARSHALL, R.A.
MAJOR J. A. MOORE, F.R.S.
EDWARD ROBERTS
S. R. SOLLY, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
ALFRED THOMPSON
ALBERT WOODS, F.S.A., *Lancaster Herald*.

AUDITORS.

J. W. PREVITÉ

WM. RUTTER.

The treasurer delivered obituary notices of the deceased members for 1858; and the thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted to him for the same, and for his effective and undeviating attention to the interests of the Association.

The thanks of the meeting were then voted by acclamation to the chairman; and the society adjourned to dine together, and celebrate the sixteenth anniversary of their institution.

Obituary for 1858.

THE obituary of 1858 is of more than ordinary extent in the history of our Association. During the past year we have to deplore the loss of thirteen associates, and of a corresponding member who had been connected with us from the commencement of our society. In the list of the deceased are to be found those who have been distinguished by their rank and position in society, and also by the services they have rendered to archæological researches.

THE MOST NOBLE WILLIAM SPENCER CAVENDISH, sixth DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, marquis of Hartington, earl of Devonshire, baron Cavendish of Hardwick, baron Clifford of Lanesborough, K.G., K.S.A., K.A.N., lord lieutenant of the county of Derby, died at Chatsworth, Derbyshire, on the 18th of January 1858, at the age of sixty-seven years. His grace's public career and services, and the course of his political life, have been recorded in various publications. We have to pay our tribute of respect to his memory, in the estimation we express for his promotion of all objects of taste; for his devotion to literature, particularly as connected with the English drama; for his assiduity in the collection of materials

illustrative of medallie history; and for the personal attention we had the honour to receive from the noble duke on occasion of our visits to Hardwick and to Chatsworth. Derbyshire having, in 1851, been selected by the Association as the seat of the Annual Congress, the arrangements were made known to his grace, who immediately joined our body as an associate, and volunteered every assistance in his power to promote our researches. Not only were we invited to examine the splendid monument, of the æra of Elizabeth, offered in the baronial mansion at Hardwick, but we were also specially invited to view the more modern glories of Chatsworth; at both of which seats we were received in that truly noble style, and entertained with that generous hospitality, for which the duke of Devonshire was renowned. No one who had the good fortune to have been present at Hardwick can forget the scene which presented itself when the Association was assembled and entertained in the hall of that remarkable mansion. An account of what we then saw, and the proceedings consequent upon our visit, will be found detailed in the *Journal* (vol. vii, pp. 319-322).

THOMAS WOOLLEY, esq., of Chester-terrace, Regent's Park, joined us so recently as the Norfolk Congress in 1857. An internal malignant disease rapidly occasioned his decease, at the early age of forty-eight years, on the 16th of February 1858.

FRANCIS BABINGTON TUSSAUD, esq., is another early loss, he being only twenty-nine years of age at the time of his decease. As a sculptor he gave promise of excellence, and the few works proceeding from his studio have been deservedly admired. He died at Rome, on the 2nd of March 1858, whither he had gone with the hope of not only improving himself in the arts, but also in that of re-establishing his health, which, in this climate, had given tokens of decay. His taste was not confined to the subjects embraced by his profession, but extended also to music, in which he displayed much knowledge, and produced several compositions of merit which enjoy a deserved popularity. He was a student at the Royal Academy and a member of the Society of Arts. He accompanied us during our Congress in Somersetshire, and was much esteemed by our members for his general information and most agreeable manners.

JOHN ROSE HALL, esq., of the Lydiates, near Ludlow, was an associate of longer standing, having joined the Association in 1850. He died on the 21st of May 1858, at the age of sixty-eight years. He was much interested in antiquarian research, but made no contribution to our *Journal*.

SIR EDWARD NORTH BUXTON, bart., M.P., became connected with

us on occasion of our visit to Norfolk in 1857. His decease, at the early age of forty-five years, occurred on the 11th of June 1858. He was the son and successor to the title of baronetcy of sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, bart., well known by his philanthropic labours in the legislature, especially relating to the abolition of negro slavery. The son was equally eminent with his sire in all that tended to promote the welfare of mankind and ameliorate distress. He represented South Essex in parliament in 1847, and East Norfolk at the time of his decease. His health was delicate, and he was under the necessity of spending his winters abroad; and during his stay in Piedmont was eminently successful in allaying the religious animosity which existed between the Italian and the Vaudois Evangelists. His early death has been much and deservedly lamented.

Another Norfolk member, one associated with us from the commencement of our institution; one whose labours in the promotion of archaeology and in science and art well entitle him to the expressions of our deepest regard and affection, has also been taken from us. I had the happiness to enjoy the friendship of DAWSON TURNER, esq., many years prior to the establishment of the Association, in which, I can aver, he took great interest to the close of his most laborious and useful life; which terminated on the 20th of June, 1858, and at which time he had reached the good age of eighty-two years. Mr. Turner was born at Great Yarmouth in October 1775, and in his native place succeeded his father at the bank of that town. He derived his earliest instruction at the Grammar School of North Walsham, and was afterwards under the private tuition of the rev. Robert Forby of Barton, whose talents and character were ever held by Mr. Turner in the highest estimation. Mr. Turner was entered at Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1793; his uncle, afterwards dean of Norwich, being at that time master of the college. He, however, did not graduate. He married the daughter of William Palgrave, esq., of Cottishall, Norfolk, whose attainments were of a high order, and whose efforts in art have been well appreciated. Mr. Turner's researches were much promoted by the assistance of this most excellent and amiable lady, and other members of his family, as numerous drawings and etchings satisfactorily evince.

Mr. Turner's earliest public labours were specially in relation to natural history, and in the department of botany he was highly distinguished. I can bear testimony to the high opinion entertained of his knowledge by the late Mr. Robert Brown, F.R.S.; Mr. Chas. König, F.R.S.; and Dr. Maton, F.R.S.: all, alas! among the number of my friends now removed from us,—distinguished men, whose memory is affectionately cherished by all with whom they were associated, and whose works will ever be referred to as sources of established excellence.

I will not attempt to give an accurate account of all Mr. Turner's works in this department of natural knowledge; but I must not omit to specify his papers, in the *Transactions* of the Linnæan Society, on algæ, lichens, and mosses; his *Specimen of a Lichenographia Britannica, or Attempt at a History of the British Lichens*, privately printed at Yarmouth in 1839; his *Synopsis of the British Fuci*, 2 vols., 12mo. (1802); *Muscologia Hibernicæ Spicilegium*, 4to., 1804; *Fuci, or Coloured Figures and Descriptions of the Plants referred by Botanists to the Genus Fucus*, 3 vols. 4to., 1808-11; *History of the Fuci*, 2 vols., 4to., 1809; and one of the most useful manuals offered in *The Botanist's Guide*, executed in conjunction with his friend Mr. Dillwyn. The pages of *The English Botany* testify to numerous communications from Mr. Turner to sir James Edward Smith, the president of the Linnæan Society; and the large collections of specimens in natural history made by Mr. Turner are now deposited at the royal gardens at Kew, under the able custody of sir William J. Hooker, son-in-law of Mr. Turner.

Mr. Turner's scientific acquirements caused him to be early admitted into the Linnæan Society, the Royal Society, and the Imperial Academy. He was also a doctor of philosophy of the University of Göttingen.

In later times Mr. Turner directed his attention to antiquities. He became a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and published various volumes of value, often referred to by antiquaries, and the subject of repeated notices in the pages of our *Journal*. During our late Congress in Norfolk, Mr. Turner's researches on almost all the objects of our visitation were brought to bear, and his name became familiar to us as an established authority. His *Sketch of the History of Caister Castle; List of Norfolk Benefices, continued from Blomefield's History of Norfolk; Visit of Charles II to Norwich*; edition of Ivo's *Remarks on the Garionomum of the Romans*, etc., and other publications relative to places of renown and interest in his native county, are well known; but his labours were not confined to that locality. His edition of Cotman's *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy* is deservedly esteemed. His labours in literature and in arts are also of value. His collections of paintings, books, manuscripts, and autographs, are among the most renowned of the day. The greater portion of his library, consisting of eight thousand volumes, was, in 1853, dispersed by auction by Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson, consequent upon his removal from Yarmouth. His paintings illustrative of the history of art were consigned to sale by Messrs. Christie and Manson. The remainder of his library will be disposed of this season; also his collection of manuscripts and his autographs, many of which are of great value and importance. The British Museum already possesses five manuscript volumes illustrative of the history of Great Britain, of which Mr. Turner printed a descriptive index in 1843; and he printed also, in 1844, *A Guide to the Historian*,

the Biographer, Antiquary, and Collector of Autographs, towards the Verification of MSS. Among the remaining books is a copy of Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, illustrated by himself and family. This extends to no less than seventy volumes; and is illustrated by two thousand original drawings. It is to be hoped, for the benefit of future historians of the county, that it may find a place on the shelves of the British Museum, or some other public and accessible repository.

Mr. Turner printed from several of his autographs; and to him we are indebted for—*Thirteen Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to Rev. Dr. John Cowell; Catalogue of the Works of Art in the possession of Sir P. P. Rubens at his death; Letter from Sir John Stapleton to, and four Letters of, Oliver Cromwell*, etc.

This imperfect enumeration of the labours of our deceased member will serve to shew how active was his mind, how ardent he was in pursuit of information, and how zealously he imparted it. His conversational powers were considerable, and the privilege of intercourse with him was not to be lightly esteemed. He was a good scholar, being well stored in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, and French; and the accuracy of his publications may be safely relied on. It was my happiness to enjoy an intimacy with him for more than a quarter of a century; and it is a solace to me under his loss to have this opportunity of offering my testimony to his learning and worth.

JOHN WEBB, esq., of St. James's-place, was well known to our members as an agreeable and intelligent man, sagacious in his remarks,—made chiefly at our Congresses, many of which he attended and enlivened from the year 1845. His decease, after a long and severe illness, took place on the 2nd of August, 1858, during our Congress at Salisbury, which it had been his intention to attend. He reached the age of sixty-four, and his memory will be agreeably cherished by a large proportion of our associates.

In the death of the REV. CHARLES WELLBELOVED we have to lament the loss of a veteran in archæology, one well known to antiquaries. He died on the 29th of August, 1858, at the advanced age of eighty-nine years, at his house in Mountgate, York, of which city he had been an inhabitant since 1792. At the time of his decease he was in the sixty-seventh year of his ministry to the Presbyterian chapel founded by the celebrated lady Hewley. From 1803 to 1840 he had also been principal and theological professor in the Manchester New College, which had been removed from the place whose name it bears, that it might be under his superintendence. Mr. Wellbeloved's attainments as a biblical scholar have been recognized beyond the limits of his own denomination. His amiable qualities secured him the affection of a wide circle of friends

and pupils, and his fellow citizens found in him a zealous and enlightened coadjutor in every undertaking designed for the public benefit. As an antiquary, it may be safely said that York owes more to him than to any other man, with the exception of the venerable Francis Drake. From the moment of his settlement there, its numerous relics of mediæval, Saxon, and Roman times attracted his attention and study; and if the inhabitants of York are now alive to the interest which these relics give to their city, and anxious to preserve them from decay and destruction, it is to the influence of Mr. Wellbeloved's writings and example that the change is mainly owing. He was the first who gave a popular description of the Minster, grounded on an accurate discrimination of its various ages and styles. In his *Eburacum, or York under the Romans*, he has collected all that was known up to the time of its composition, respecting the remains of Roman antiquity in the city, connecting these antiquarian details with the general history of the Roman occupation of Britain. At the request of the director of the Society of Antiquaries he furnished to their *Vetusta Monumenta* a description and history of St. Mary's abbey, numerous remains of which had been recently brought to light by the excavations of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. The antiquarian collections belonging to this society were, for many years, under his exclusive care. They were arranged by him, and described in a catalogue which is a model for all similar manuals. It was owing chiefly to his exertions that the walls of York were preserved from destruction, and repaired, so as to afford a walk round a large part of the city. Indeed, for many years past, he had been both the guardian and the interpreter of its antiquities. He was appealed to to determine the character of each new discovery; and if any venerable remains were threatened with removal, he was invoked to interpose his authority for their preservation.

Mr. Wellbeloved was a man of truly catholic spirit; his manners were courteous and gentlemanly, and he was ever ready and obliging in displaying to others the antiquarian treasures of which he had the charge. Age had impaired his active powers, but had left the vigour and sagacity of the mind in great measure untouched; and he had been able, till within a few days of his death, to occupy himself in his favourite pursuit.

He was one of our earliest associates, and made to us several communications. In 1846 he forwarded to us notices relating to Saxon antiquities found in the kingdom of the Northumbrian Angles, near Driffield, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. These are described and figured in the *Journal* (ii, 54-56). The antiquities are preserved in the museum of the Philosophical Society of York. In May 1847 Mr. Wellbeloved exhibited to us a very curious and interesting box, in *cuir-bouilli*, deposited in the same museum, and figured by us in the *Journal* (iii, 123). Our late vice-president, sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, K.H., pronounced this

antiquity to be of the time of Edward II. During the same year Mr. Wellbeloved also communicated to us a drawing of a Roman altar, which is also figured in our *Journal* (iii, 124), found at the old station, MAGNA (of the *Notitia*), on the line of Hadrian's Wall, and which has been presented to the museum at York. Mr. Wellbeloved also furnished to us an important list, arranged in alphabetical order, of the names of potters, obtained from vessels and fragments of Samian ware discovered at York. This list, which has by other antiquaries been subsequently enlarged, will be found in the *Journal* (iii, 124-5). One other communication from Mr. Wellbeloved has been made public by the pages of our *Journal* (v, 89), relating to the discovery of some Roman coins at Boston, near Tadcaster, about a mile from the old Roman road between Aldborough and Castleford. They were not less than two hundred in number, and found in a fictile vase of rude appearance. Mr. Wellbeloved examined one hundred and seventy-two of them; and his account of their several types, and the emperors to whose reign they bear relation, are recorded in the *Journal*.

These several communications, made to us in the metropolis, will serve to demonstrate the active interest taken in antiquarian pursuits by our late associate. He further manifested this zeal by delivering before the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, in 1840, a series of lectures on the antiquities contained in the museum of the society, which mainly by his exertions was established at York in the year 1823. The work, *Eburacum*, to which I have previously referred, gives the substance of these lectures.

A large assembly of the Unitarian body of York, together with many members of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, and the York Institute of Popular Science and Literature, attended his remains to the grave; and by special permission obtained of the secretary of state, his body was permitted to be interred in a vault in front of his chapel,—interments within the city of York being wisely prohibited on grounds affecting the welfare of the community.

JOHN JAMES MOSS, esq., of Otterspool, near Liverpool, died on the 3rd of October, 1858, at the age of seventy-six years. He was a banker, and most highly respected. He joined us in 1849, and took interest in our pursuits, contributing, by subscription and donation, to our funds.

JOHN YOUNG CAW, esq., F.S.A., joined us an associate in 1850. He was a native of Perth; educated at St. Andrew's, and subsequently at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he passed upwards of two years, with the view of entering the church. Having, however, relinquished that intention, he became connected with the Bank of Manchester, and so continued till his death, on the 22nd October, 1858, at the early age of

forty-eight years. Mr. Caw was admitted a member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester in 1841; and in that well known institution he, for two years, filled the office of librarian. He contributed to their memoirs some *Remarks on the "Deserted Village" of Goldsmith*, and he was also the author of some pamphlets on banking. To the church and parish of St. Andrew Ancots, Manchester, he was a liberal supporter. By his will he bequeathed £4,000 towards its permanent endowment, naming as his trustees for this object, his friend (our associate) Mr. John Ross Coulthart, and his cousin, Mr. John Caw. He was buried at St. Luke's, Cheetham Hill; and preliminary steps have been taken to perpetuate his memory by the erection of a reredos in St. Andrew's church.

MAJOR EDWARD SHEPPARD, R.A., died on the 6th of November, 1858, at the age of sixty-eight years. He was one of our earliest members, and made to us occasional communications; one of which, on a silver seal bearing a leonine verse, "*Eternis annis memor est Maria Joh'nis*," is rendered in our *Journal* (ix, 85). It belongs to the close of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth century, and was probably an affectionate memorial from a husband to a wife.

BENJAMIN WYON, esq. Interesting and important as are the works of the medallist; assisting, as they do, the researches of the historian and the antiquary by their record of the glory of nations, and the events that rule their destiny; also of the individual acts of the great and brave to whom they have been given as the reward of genius and heroism,—yet the name of the medallist has been too speedily consigned to oblivion. No trace has hitherto, I believe, been discovered of the names of the artists of the beautiful coins of Greece and Rome, although we know much of the architects, sculptors, and painters, of the middle ages. It is not a little remarkable that we have no record of the authors of the exquisite seals of that period. It may be that, from the unpretending form in which these works came before the public, the great skill and indefatigable industry required in this minute display of art were overlooked; though, to ensure success, the die-engraver needs an equal talent with the sculptor, for the same abilities are called into exercise as in that sister art, the same invention, the same knowledge of form, the same ideas to be expressed, while the elements of expression are limited to suit the means used in the production of the medal.

Pure taste and elaborate finish distinguish the works of Benjamin Wyon, an associate whose loss we have to deplore. He was born in London, January 9, 1802. His early studies were directed by his father, Thomas Wyon, chief engraver of his majesty's seals, and his elder brother Thomas, chief engraver at the mint. The early death of this

gifted brother, however, soon deprived him of his valued instruction. While quite young he entered the Royal Academy; and the silver medal (the highest prize given by that institution for medal engraving) was awarded to him for his beautiful rendering of the head of the Apollo Belvidere, subsequently adopted by the Royal Academy of Music for their prize medal. Among other rewards, he obtained from the Society of Arts their gold medal, for the model of a medal to commemorate the restoration of peace.

At the age of nineteen, under his father's directions, he engraved the great seal of George IV,—perhaps the finest of those fine specimens of engraving; and, ten years later, succeeding to his father's appointment, he executed the seals of William IV and the queen Victoria. Among the many important medals produced by his labour and skill may be mentioned one struck upon the passing of the reform bill; those commemorative of the marriage of her most gracious majesty, and of the baptism of the prince of Wales; the Beaufoy medal, given as the Shakespearean prize in the City of London School; the Crimean medal; those recording the visits of the emperor and empress of the French, and of the king of Sardinia, to the City of London; the medal for the Society for the Protection of Life from Fire; and that on which his last efforts were engaged, the medal given by the Board of Trade for the preservation of life in shipwreck: works which have gained for him a high and well-earned reputation.

Consistently with the quiet usefulness of the art in which he excelled, the character of Mr. Benjamin Wyon was unobtrusive. A man of intelligent mind, amiable feeling, retiring habits, and great humility, he was beloved by his family and respected by his friends. Mr. Wyon died on the 21st of November, 1858, at the age of fifty-six years, and has left sons whose artistic talents give hope that they, too, will take an honourable place among the artists of our land.

The last associate in this sad list of losses during the year, is one who joined us at our Somersetshire Congress in 1856; took part with us in our examination of Bath and its neighbourhood, and was contemplating a communication to us at the time when he was attacked with illness, terminating fatally on the 15th of December, 1858, at the age of sixty-two years. The REV. HENRY STREET, M.A., was an accomplished scholar, educated at Eton. He was entered at Baliol College, Oxford, and took the degrees of bachelor and master of arts. He ardently cultivated literature and antiquities. His classical attainments are shewn in an able publication entitled *Leaves from Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea A.D. 330, selected from his celebrated work, "The Evangelical Preparation", and translated from the original Greek*, which appeared in 1842 and he read before a meeting of the Somersetshire Archæological and

Natural History Society, at Bath, in 1852, a paper on *The Neerology of Egypt*. This would appear to have been a valuable communication; and it is to be regretted that it has not been printed *in extenso*, as suggested by Mr. Markland and others at the time of its delivery. In the able and interesting address, *On the History and Antiquities of Bath*, delivered to our body, upon occasion of our visit to that city, by my learned friend, Mr. Markland spoke of Mr. Street as an accomplished translator, and as a critic of sound judgment and pure taste.¹

In addition to the associates to whom we have thus paid our tributes of regard, we must not omit to record the decease, on the 1st day of January, 1858, and in the sixty-ninth year of his age, of CHARLES ADE, esq., of Milton Court, near Alfreton, Sussex. He was one of our earliest corresponding members, well known in his county as a good practical agriculturist. He was a neat and accurate draughtsman; and in the representation of ancient coins he had scarcely an equal in England. From the commencement of the Sussex Archæological Society he became an active and useful member of that body, and made several communications to their *Collectanea*. In the year 1843, Mr. Ade made a discovery of Saxon pennies of the reigns of Canute, Harold I, Hardicanute, and Edward the Confessor, in the finest state of preservation, and embracing specimens struck at Chichester, Lewes, Hastings, and other local towns. This discovery, well known as the "Alfreton find", has rendered his name familiar to numismatists. His cabinet of coins was enriched with many valuable and interesting examples. By his exertions he rescued and saved from destruction many British and Roman urns found in his neighbourhood; and to him we are indebted for having first pointed out the *indicia* of a Roman road leading from Anderida (Pevensey) in the direction of Lewes. As a genealogist he was careful and painstaking, and his papers contain memoranda of considerable interest. Among others is a pedigree of his own family, extending back to 1470, proving him to be a descendant of a long line of Southdown yeomen.

In 1846 Mr. Ade communicated to us impressions of a gold British, and a Roman, coin in the same metal: the former found at Alfreton, a variety of fig. 8, pl. I, of Ruding; the latter a Valentinian, *rev.*, VICTORIA AVG., in exergue; *Tr., ob.*; found at Seaford, where the golden coins had been discovered (see *Journal*, ii, 344). At this place also Roman urns had been obtained; and Mr. Ade transmitted to us a note respecting them, printed in the *Journal* (iii, 249). In 1850 he communicated to Mr. Roach Smith, then secretary of our Association, an account of the Roman road I have referred to, the particulars of which are recorded in the *Journal* (vi, 91).

¹ *Journal*, vol. xiii, p. 96.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 114.)

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4.

THIS morning the members of the Association, together with a large party of visitors, were received by the dean and other officers of the cathedral, in the cloisters, and conducted to the library for examination of the muniments of the cathedral and other valuable and ancient manuscripts. This was undertaken by Mr. Black with his accustomed felicity; and several were selected to be taken to the Deanery to be more particularly investigated at the *conversazione* on the following evening.

The Muniment Room of the cathedral is an object of considerable interest, not merely from the valuable contents of which it is the repository, but also on account of its structure. One of the chests containing the records is also worthy of remark. It is secured by seven locks,—a number corresponding with that of the residentiaries of the cathedral; and the lid of this oblong box is raised by means of a pulley and wheel affixed to the central column supporting the roof of the room. A good representation of it is given on plate XXI of Hollis' *Memorials*.

MR. BLACK, on proceeding to a consideration of the muniments and manuscripts in the library at Salisbury cathedral, expressed his deep regret that the shortness of the time he had been in the city would prevent him from doing justice to this interesting subject. The library contained a great number of books, original documents, and rolls. There must have been many muniments in the old cathedral, some of which were still to be found in the present structure. Among these were some title-deeds and a liturgy. There was one book of records, which was a sort of register, containing an account of the progress of the works at the new cathedral previous to its opening. One of the oldest documents, prior to the building of the present structure, was of the time of bishop Joceline, respecting land at Ramsbury and Cannings, granted for service done to Henry, dean of Sarum, which was of the twelfth century. There was another, bearing date 1239, to which was affixed the seal of the abbess of Lacock. There were also two documents relating to one Nicholas de Ely, who was mentioned in the charter of William the dean as a

workman (*cementarius*), conveying to him a piece of land outside the Close, which he was to hold on payment of two wax tapers (of two pounds weight) for the mass of the Virgin. This person was also mentioned in the charter of bishop Poore himself; and it is probable that some of the details of this cathedral might have been copied by him from those at Ely. There was also an interesting document from the pope, signed by a foreign cardinal, to the effect that bishop Joceline had purged himself from any participation in the death of Thomas à Becket. There was also a document of the fifteenth century (bearing date the fifteenth year of the reign of Henry IV), the seal of which illustrates the remarkable altar-cloth in the church of St. Thomas, containing a similar representation of the Annunciation on the seal. The proceedings of the chapter date back as far as 1282, and here is the original chapter act of that time. There was a document in Norman French respecting William Montacute earl of Salisbury; and also a document, of the time of bishop Poore, concerning the churches of Box and Whittleford. There was a document of the time of king Stephen, respecting Gilbert de Percy, whose seal it bore. Mr. Black then produced a number of final concords of the time of Richard I and Henry III, some of which he translated. The writing of several of these was most beautiful. He next referred to a grant by John Matravers, lord of Lytchett, constituting a chantry to the church in that place in the year 1269. He then produced one of the earliest of parish registers (dated 1579, in the reign of queen Elizabeth), being a transcript of the register of marriages and burials of Homington. With respect to the rolls, there was a remarkable one containing an account of the proceedings after the death of Henry prior of Burstalls, Hants, and the election of a new prior. It was a deed of presentation to the bishop, of most interesting character. There was also a document containing a survey of all chantries, and the value of incumbencies, in the county. It is dated in the second year of Henry VI, and is remarkable for containing not only the name of the incumbents, but also remarks on their personal characters. In one place it states that a certain incumbent was an honest man, and of good report; but it adds that he was very poor. This document was an instance of the difference in the use of words at that period and at the present time. It mentions Giles Crockford as an honest man, and as receiving twenty marks a year as one of the two priests at Hungerford chapel. It is stated that he was not used to the cure of souls, because he had been brought up to religion,—meaning that he had been trained in a monastery. There was a large number of rolls connected with the fabric, and referring to wages paid for the repairs of the cathedral, and other work connected with the fabric. He then noticed some of these bearing date 1488, 1489, 1507, 1516, and 1590; and subsequently referred to the manuscripts belonging to the library, which were produced for inspection. They were as follow :

a copy of a tract written by the Venerable Bede, which Mr. Black considered as early as the latter part of the ninth century;—a manuscript containing a commentary upon the Book of Ecclesiastes, written in a beautiful hand, probably by that fine penman, Alcuin;—an interesting treatise on church music, containing a code of intonations which was most valuable, and on which a paper had been received from Mr. Lambert;—a portion of a manuscript Bible of the thirteenth century;—a manuscript of the tenth century, containing some of St. Augustine's works;—the *Origines* of Isidore, in the handwriting of the twelfth century: this work was a sort of encyclopædia;—a manuscript Bible of the thirteenth century, erroneously lettered 1620;—a Chronicle of Jordain, a French writer of the twelfth century. Among the most early works was a treatise of St. Augustine, written in France as early as the eighth century; the Chronicle of Reculpus, of the twelfth century; an hexameter poem of Bede's, of the eleventh century; another copy of Reculpus, of the eleventh century; a fine copy of Browne's *Britannia's Pastorales*, being the copy which was lent to the Percy Society for Mr. Crofton Croker's edition of this work. In conclusion Mr. Black made some observations on the cedar boxes in which some of the vellum manuscripts were kept. He observed that it was, of all materials, one of the most mischievous. He had made some experiments in concert with the late lord Langdale, the master of the rolls; and they had ascertained that the wood, when new, gave out a sort of resinous substance, which is quickly absorbed by the parchments, which in time become agglutinated together. He would suggest that the cedar should be well seasoned before being used for such a purpose.

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN expressed the thanks of the members of the chapter to Mr. Black for his interesting observations, and expressed a hope that, before the Association left Salisbury, he would be enabled to devote a larger portion of his time to an examination of the library.

At 11 o'clock the party proceeded to Wilton church, where Mr. George Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., read a paper illustrative of the building. (See pp. 131-143 *ante*.)

WILTON HOUSE was, by the kindness of the right hon. Sidney Herbert, M.P., thrown open to the examination of the Association. The valuable collection of antiquities, marbles, and paintings, gathered together in this splendid mansion, are too well known to need being here particularized. It however, behoves the Association thankfully to acknowledge the unreserved manner in which the house and grounds were thrown open to the inspection of the Association, and to express the regret of the members that they had not the honour of personally thanking Mr. Herbert for his kind attention, he being at the time in Switzerland.

The mayor of Wilton, J. E. Nightingale, esq., having joined the Con-

gress, kindly submitted for examination the municipal records at the Town Hall, where Mr. Black made an examination of them, which will probably appear in a future *Journal*.

Messrs. Blackmore, the proprietors of the celebrated carpet factory at Wilton, obligingly invited the Association to visit their works. Many members availed themselves of their kind offer, and were exceedingly interested by the examination of this curious manufacture.

On the road home a visit was paid to BEMERTON CHURCH, so well known as having had, for a short time, as its rector the celebrated George Herbert. Mr. Black was anxious to consult the parish books, to identify the handwriting in a book esteemed to be a manuscript autograph copy of *The Temple* and other poems; but the entries made during the period Herbert was rector did not satisfactorily elucidate this inquiry. The church is justly described by its present rector, the rev. Wellesley Pole Pigott, M.A., as "a mean building, destitute of any architectural character"; and as the population is considerably increased, and the church found to be inadequate to the wants of the inhabitants, and not admitting of enlargement, it is proposed to erect another in its place, and to regard it as a "monument to the memory of George Herbert." It is rather remarkable that no monumental record is in existence in regard to this excellent clergyman; but according to Izaak Walton "he lies buried in his own church, under the altar, and covered with a gravestone without any inscription."¹

Returning to Salisbury, the members met at the *table-d'hôte*; and afterwards attended the evening meeting, sir Fortunatus Dwarries, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., in the chair.

Mr. Gordon Hills read a short paper descriptive of a beautiful series of drawings hung round the Council Chamber of the Round Towers in Ireland, which will appear in a future *Journal*.

Mr. G. Vere Irving then read his paper on Old Sarum, which will appear in a future *Journal*, Mr. Irving being engaged in excavating and making further researches on the subject.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 5TH.

At 10 A.M., a large party went on an excursion, first to Burcombe Church; and thence, by the kind invitation of the rev. Samuel Bromhead

¹ The marquis of Ailesbury, the earl of Pembroke, the right hon. Sidney Herbert, the bishop, dean, and archdeacon, of the diocese, and especially the rector of the parish, have liberally subscribed towards the erection of a new church; and donations in aid of this purpose will be received by the rev. Wellesley Pole Pigott, Bemerton Rectory. The nave and chancel of the present church measure only 44 feet 5 inches in length, and are 14 feet wide. In relation to the burial of Herbert, the parish register gives the following date:—"1632. March 3 (O. S.), Mr. George Herbert, esq., parson of Fugglestone and Bemerton, was buried on the north side of the altar."

Ward, M.A., a visit was paid to Telfont Ewyas Rectory, where the members had an opportunity of receiving the hospitable attentions of the rector, and examining many objects of curiosity and interest. These chiefly consisted of fine carvings in wood, collected by Mr. Ward, and placed as articles of furniture and ornament in several rooms. In the drawing room was an old oak chimneypiece, having in the centre the royal arms with the initials C. R. It is supported by two slender, beautifully carved pillars having the Sarum arms carved on them, and formerly belonged to a friary in St. Ann's-street, Sarum, and bears date A.D. 1625. Two cabinets, bearing date A.D. 1577, were also in this room, and were brought from Bremen Castle, in Germany. The subjects of the several panels, elaborately carved, of which there are in all twenty in the larger, and sixteen in the smaller one, are all sacred subjects. The four very large pieces (six feet by two feet) are boldly and beautifully carved, and chiefly represent the old and new dispensations, *i. e.* the law and the gospel, the fall of man and the redemption; also the judgment of Solomon, and the queen of Sheba bringing her gifts to Solomon. There are repetitions of these subjects, and also on the several panels. Of the two inscriptions, No. 1 appears to be the law, which Moses is receiving at the hands of the Almighty. No. 2 is affixed to a tree, beneath which Adam, as supposed, is sitting, having his attention directed to the cross. There are several other subjects on the smaller panels, such as the visit of the shepherds to the Babe in Bethlehem, Abraham about to slay his son, and others which it is not necessary to particularize.

Mr. Ward then conducted the party on their road to Wardour Castle, by the way examining Castle Ditches, the escarpments, etc., remains of a Roman encampment of great extent. Vegetation at this season of the year was, however, too luxuriant to permit of a satisfactory inspection.

Arrived at Wardour Castle, the Association was received by the lord Arundell; and under the escort of his lordship, the hon. John Arundell, and the very rev. Dr. Husenbeth, inspected the modern mansion and the exquisite chapel, admiring the numerous valuable paintings and other antiquities in the possession of the owner. Here the Association had an opportunity of seeing the Glastonbury cup, of which an account will be found in Mr. Pettigrew's paper on the pegged tankards, printed in the Gloucester volume of the Association.

The remains of WARDOUR CASTLE were then examined, under the guidance of Mr. C. E. Davis. Before the time of Edward III it was the baronial residence of the family of St. Martin, knight of the shire in the thirty-fourth year of that monarch's reign. From that family it passed into the possession of the Lovels, and continued part of their property during several successions. Subsequently it was acquired by the lords Touchet, Audley, and Willoughby de Broke; and ultimately by sir John Arundell, whose son Thomas was created lord Arundell of Wardour by

James I, and raised to the dignity of count of the Holy Roman Empire, in 1595, for his gallantry at the siege of Gran in Hungary, where he captured, with his own hand, the Turkish standard, afterwards sent to Rome.

Wardour was attacked by a powerful force under the command of sir Edward Hungerford (1643), at a time when lord Arundell was in attendance on the king at Oxford; but his lady, Blanche, refused to surrender, and, with her little garrison of twenty-five men, most heroically withstood the onslaught of 1,300 soldiers, and a bombardment which lasted five days. After defending the castle as long as it was tenable, she capitulated on honourable terms; but the republican leader having once gained possession, did not scruple to violate his engagements, and to plunder the mansion of some of its most valuable contents. It was then garrisoned by the parliament, and placed under the command of Edmund Ludlow, a native of the county, afterwards raised to the rank of general; but it did not long remain in the hands of its captors. In the course of the summer, lord Arundell and sir Francis Doddington invested it, and compelled Ludlow to surrender after a gallant defence. These stormy events left the walls in a condition more picturesque than stable, and so they have remained to the present day.¹

The visitors having entered, through a gate-house, the precincts of the ruin, stood on a beautiful turf, under the shadow of the cedar, the cypress, and the iron-wood tree, the last springing from the ground in a cluster of stems. They were shewn the old armoury, the drawing-room, and the kitchen, and the deep marks where the balls struck the masonry. A pentagonal court forms the centre, and contains the well sunk by Ludlow during the siege. Adjoining the ruins, in the buildings of a farm, are the remains of the mansion occupied by the family after the destruction of this castle, and to the time of their removal to the present house.

The apartments of the modern mansion are filled with numerous interesting and valuable objects, paintings, and antiquities. Among the former are many by the most eminent artists, some of which have been deservedly admired and specified by Dr. Waagen,—particularly two by Vernet, a storm at sea, and a calm by moonlight. There are beautiful works of art by Hobbima, Breughel, Rubens, Wouvermans, G. Poussin, Claude, Salvator Rosa, Lingelbach, Teniers, Rembrandt, Correggio, Giorgione, Caravaggio, Titian, Carlo Dolci, Annibale Caracci, Murillo, Holbein, Vandyke, sir Peter Lely, sir Joshua Reynolds, Angelica Kauffman, etc. In the little drawing-room the picture of Tobit going to meet his son, by Gerard Dow (the largest picture of this master ever known, measuring six feet by four feet), is highly finished, the details being

¹ We hope to be able, in a future *Journal*, to render a particular account of these interesting ruins, derivable from a survey made by Mr. C. E. Davis, who discoursed upon the building, and pointed out its several peculiarities.

executed with the painter's usual minuteness. The saloon is enriched by the picture of our Saviour taken from the cross, a powerful work of Spagnoletto. In the billiard-room is a fine painting by Palma Giovane, an executioner about to behead the kneeling figure of pope Sixtus. There are many other first-class pictures in this fine collection.

The chapel is in the west wing, and contains a sumptuous altar of agate and marble, resting on an antique sarcophagus, and surmounted by a crucifix of solid silver. The altar-piece is the Descent from the Cross, by Giuseppe Cades. To the right of the altar stands the monument of the second lord Arundell and his heroic lady Blanche. Dr. Waagen highly praises the Assumption, by Caspar de Crayer,—a picture on one of the side walls of the chapel, which approaches Rubens in power and warmth of colour. Here is also a beautiful relief, in marble, representing the Virgin, the Child, and St. John; which, judging from conception and style of development, Waagen thinks may be of the school of Begarelli, of Modena.

Having returned thanks to the earl of Arundell for his kindness, and taken a hasty view of the beautiful grounds, the Association proceeded to TISSBURY CHURCH, the burial-place of the Arundells, and here are many of their monuments from 1571 to 1808. The church is a spacious edifice, of great antiquity, the carvings and ornaments with which it is embellished bearing a strong resemblance to those that support the roof at Westminster Hall. Tisbury is known for its quarries of building stone, the Portland oolite; and for its manor house, of the fourteenth century, called the Grange, or Place Farm,—an occasional residence of the abbess of Shaftesbury, and still retaining its old gateway and barn, the latter two hundred feet long. This interesting specimen of domestic architecture was duly inspected by the members of the Association. In the churchyard is a very old, large, and fine yew-tree.

The Association then returned to Salisbury; and in the evening were received at a *conversazione*, at the Deanery, by the very rev. the dean and Mrs. Hamilton. The dean had caused a selection of the manuscripts belonging to the cathedral to be brought to the Deanery. Mr. Black discoursed upon their character and peculiarities.

This concluded, and the company having partaken of refreshments, Mr. Pettigrew, in the absence of Mr. Syer Cuming, read a paper "On some Memorials of Charles II, as connected with the County of Wilts," of which the following is an abstract:

"We cannot enter Wiltshire without being reminded of Charles II, for the county and its people seem in no little measure to be interwoven with his career. Scarcely had he reached his eighth year, when Brian Duppa, chancellor of Sarum, subsequently bishop of Salisbury, was chosen his preceptor. Thirteen years after this appointment, Wiltshire received the king as a fugitive, Heale sheltering him as he fled from the

overthrow at Worcester: and in the ancient church of Manningford Bruce rest the remains of one who aided his escape—the loyal Mary Lane, wife of Edward Nicholas. A few years later (1655), Hugh Grove of Zeals, and sir John Penruddock of Compton Chamberlain, raised the royal standard at Salisbury, and, after proclaiming Charles II, laid their heads upon the block '*pro lege et rege*'. Five more years numbered with the past, and another Wiltshire worthy, sir John Talbot of Lacock, received into his arms the restored monarch, upon his landing at Dover on the 25th of May, 1660. In 1663, Charles was the guest of sir James Thynne, at Longleat. Two years later, and he flies the plague-stricken capital to breathe the salubrious air of Salisbury. In 1671 he is again in Wiltshire, on his way to Plymouth, passing the night at Wilton, and breakfasting next morning in the palace of the bishop of Salisbury. Nor ought we to forget that this county numbers among its children two, differing widely, indeed, as to worth, but both of whom exercised a mighty sway over the king—the one a guiding and guarding spirit; the other a baneful siren, luring to shame and ruin. Well may Clinton be proud of giving birth to Edward Hyde, the good and upright Clarendon, and well may Charlton raise no note of exultation for its connexion with Moll Davis the milkmaid; 'little Miss Davis' of the Duke's Theatre, lady Mary Davis, one of the earliest, and certainly the most base-born of all the favourites of the 'merry monarch'. Charles and Wiltshire being thus so intimately associated, I have chosen Salisbury as a fit place wherein to unfold a fresh chapter of the history of royal relics, commenced at our Isle of Wight Congress in 1855,¹ and which history will now be carried on until the dynasty of the Stuarts be completed.

"The memorials of prince Charles commence with his nativity and baptism, which are recorded by several medals published at the time, and on one of which he appears half naked, seated on a sort of cradle, between figures of Mercury and Mars, who hold chaplets above his head, and Simon de Pass winds up his series of silver counters with the effigy of the royal baby with a flower in his right hand, seated in a chair of state, the back of which is decked with three plumes; whilst around, in a riband, are the words—CAROLVS PRINCE · NAT · 29 · MAII · 1630. The reverse resembles the majority of the medals issued on the prince's birth, viz. four shields meeting in the centre, so as to produce a cross; encircled by the motto—HACTENVS ANGLORVM NVLLI.

"One of the earliest reputed relics of Charles is a small but complete suit of steel armour, which he is stated to have worn when only five or six years of age, now placed in a recess in the horse armoury of the Tower of London. That the prince did at times appear in armour whilst a child seems probable, for there is still preserved in the great gallery of Combe

¹ See vol. xi, for 1855, pp. 227-238.

Abbey, a portrait of him when fourteen years old, in which he is represented fully equipped in steel richly studded with gold; and there was formerly, in the king's dining room at Buckingham House, another juvenile picture of Charles in armour, by Vandyke.

"The next relics of the prince are also of a warlike description, namely, ten pieces of brass cannon, presented to him by the brass-founders of London as an aid in learning the art of war. They bear the letters C. P., a plume of feathers, ICH DIEN, 1638-9, and the artists' names, John Brown and Thomas Pitt. These curious pieces of ordnance are exhibited in the Spanish Armoury at the Tower, and are mounted on the walls of the mimic fort of Tilbury.

"At the age of eight years the prince was created a knight of the Garter, upon which occasion a medal was published bearing a three-quarter bust of Charles in the cap, with the robes and badge of the order, surrounded by the legend, CAROLVS . PRINMA . BR . NOB . GARTENES . 22 MAI . 1638. The *rev.* displays the prince of Wales' plume and motto between the letters C. P., within the inscribed garter, surrounded by the words MAGNA . SPES . MAGNA . PARENTIS.

"From this time there are few memorials of prince Charles until the year 1645 or 1646, when he resided for a short time at Cotehele House, Cornwall, where his chamber is still pointed out, with his elaborately carved bedstead and rich furniture, of oriental fabric, deeply fringed with silk of various hues. The troubles and disasters of the civil war compelled the prince to fly from Cornwall to the Scilly Islands, and thence to France and Holland, where he received the tidings of his father's execution. In 1650 he is in Scotland; and on the 1st of January in the following year is solemnly crowned at Scone, by the vacillant earl of Argyll, this being the last time the ancient diadem of the Stuarts encircled the brow of monarchy. It is now preserved, with other Scottish regalia, in the Castle of Edinburgh.

"From Scotland the king, at the head of his little army, advanced into England; and on the 3rd of September, 1651, gave battle to the forces of Cromwell at Worcester, and received that crushing defeat which brings other relics and memorials to notice,—relics and memorials of the preservation and restoration of the royal fugitive, which render celebrated the names of Gifford and Carlos, Yates and Pendrell, Whitgrave and Lane, Norton, Wyndham, and Tetttersell. Escaped from the battle of Worcester, Charles sheltered himself in the Spring Coppice (a wood in Shropshire, bordering on Staffordshire), where colonel Carless, or Carlis, had previously retired, and where the foliage of a spreading oak afforded him concealment. Hard by stood Boscobel with its timbered walls and gabled roof, in which house the king retired at night, lying behind the wainscoat lining of its apartments. It was not, of course, until the restoration was accomplished that any note was taken of Bos-

cobel and the conserving oak ; but the king is said to have visited the spot shortly after his return to England, and to have carried away some acorns, which he planted in St. James' park, and often watered them with his own hands. The royalists eagerly flocked from all parts of the land to behold the tree, and with merciless hands plucked the leaves and cut away portions of the stem and branches, which they preserved as relics, out of which were carved tobacco-stoppers surmounted by the royal bust, boxes with the king's effigy and cipher, knife-handles with gilded acorns at their ends, cane-tops, and many such trifles ; not forgetting the standards of the communion table in the chapel at Gopsal Hall, Leicestershire, which are made out of the timber of the royal oak. A curious memorial of the king's escape is engraved in the *Mirror* (vol. xxi, p. 345). It is a heart-shaped watch-key, formed of a piece of the Boscobel tree, the broad, flat faces covered with silver ; on one of which is graven a profile bust of the king placed amid the oak-boughs, and on the other the words "*Quercus Car. 2d, conservatrix, 1651.*" At the top is a silver acorn, and the pipe of the key is of brass. This historic relic is affirmed to have been presented by the king to one of the Pendrells, and was, in 1833, in the possession of a Mrs. Cope, a descendant of that family.¹

"To prevent the entire destruction of the royal oak a square enclosure was built around it, the inner sides of which were planted with laurel ; and a marble with an inscription above the entrance. The wall falling into decay, it was rebuilt in the year 1787, and furnished with an eulogistic legend.

"The royal oak was speedily adopted as a shop sign by the London traders, as shewn by the tokens issued by Francis Morley in Barbican ; William Brattle, in Brick-lane, Spitalfields ; Thomas White, in Fore-street, Cripplegate ; Randolph Haft, in Ratcliff Cross ; Robert Wells, in White Horse-street, Ratcliff ; John Rewood, in Wapping ; and others. The tree was not forgotten in country revels and city pageants, one of which is thus noted by Evelyn,—“Oct. 29, 1660. Going to London, my lord maior's show stopped me in Cheapside. One of the pageants

¹ This lady had likewise a curious pair of snuffers, with stand and extinguisher, all formed of brass, set with plaques of coloured porcelain, which are stated to have been given to the Pendrells by the king. They are engraved in the same page of the *Mirror* in which the above key appeared. In the *Mirror* (xix, 276) is a description of what is there called “the Pendrell jewel”. “An ancient medal or coin, ornamented with jewels, was purchased a few years since of one of the descendants of the Penderell, to whom it was presented by Charles II as a valuable token of his gratitude for certain protection afforded by him to that prince when endeavouring to effect his escape in disguise from England, in the year 1648. It consists of a gold coin of Ferdinand II, dated 1638, surrounded by a row of sixteen brilliants, encased in silver, enriched with blue enamel, and bearing the motto, *Usque ad aris fidelis*. The reverse is also enamelled, and the jewel is intended to be worn as an ornament to the person.”

represented a greate wood, with the royal oake, and history of his majesty's miraculous escape at Boscobel." The king recognized the event in the silver-gilt cup presented by him, in 1678, to the company of barber-surgeons, the stem of which represents the trunk of an oak, the branches and leaves forming the bowl and cover; and from the foliage depend four acorn-shaped cascabels. On it are the royal badges and arms of the company. This famous tree also appeared on medals, which bore on the *obv.* the profile bust of Charles; and on the *rev.* the royal oak with three crowns hanging on its branches, the sun above it, and surrounded by such mottos as *IAM FLORESCIT TANDEM REVIRESCET*, and the like. Even the jetton-makers of Nuremberg, catering for English taste, placed on the *obv.* of their *rechening pfenings* the king's bust in an oak, the three crowns dangling on the branches, the sun in the clouds, and the whole device surrounded by the words, *THE ROYAL OAK*; and beneath the tree the letters *L. G. L'R* (for "Lazarus Gotlieb Lanfer," the maker of the piece). The *rev.* displays the royal arms, with supporters, between the letters *C. R.* surmounted by little crowns.

"It was for a long time customary, on the anniversary of the restoration, to place boughs of oak on the grave of Pendrell, in the churchyard of St. Giles-in-the-Fields; and on the statue of Charles II in the centre of the Royal Exchange. The statue of Charles I, at Charing Cross, continues to be bedecked with oaken foliage on the 29th of May; and many now living remember the time when oak branches with gilded apples were sold about the streets of the metropolis, to the cry of 'Here's royal oak, the Whigs to provoke.'

"April 23rd, 1661, king Charles was crowned at Westminster by the venerable and pious Juxon. The ancient crown having been sold, with other regalia, by order of parliament, a new one was made for the occasion, still shewn at the Tower under the title of the Imperial, or St. Edward's, Crown. Other relics of the coronation were formerly preserved in Gloucestershire. They consisted of the state chair and footstool used by Charles whilst receiving the homage of the peers. The chair had a straight, high back with scroll arms; and the square stool rested on four short legs. They are described as being covered with purple velvet, secured with gilt nails, richly laced and fringed with gold. These relics were a perquisite of the archbishop, who sent them to his residence at Little Compton, Gloucestershire. At his death they became the property of his nephew, who left them to his son, sir William Juxon, by whom they were bequeathed to his widow, dame Susannah Juxon, subsequently the wife of lord viscount Fane, who outlived her husband; but, dying in 1791, they were sold with her effects, and purchased by a Mr. Sands, of Wheelbarrow Castle, near Barton-on-the-Heath, Warwickshire. The chair and footstool are engraved in the *Gent. Mag.* for June

1794, p. 507; and their true history given in the number for July, p. 618.¹

“These coronation relics may be followed by others which, as unconnected with the leading events of the monarch’s career, are difficult to class in chronological sequence. The most important is the famous wine fountain, of silver-gilt, presented to Charles by the corporation of Plymouth; now kept among the regalia in the Jewel House, Tower of London. It is nearly three feet high, and about the same in circumference; and, when filled with wine, pours forth four jets in a very pleasing manner. With this fountain may be placed the Charles II goblet in the Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn-street. It is of coloured and engraved glass, and said to have been formerly in the possession of the Hodgson family, who received it from sir Robert Gayer, one of his majesty’s courtiers.

“Windsor Castle is enriched with some of Charles’ property, a pair of elegant fire-dogs, of bronze, representing figures of Minerva and Mars, bearing the king’s monogram; also a state bed, of the finest blue cloth, richly embroidered with gold and silver. The state bed in which Charles slept during his sojourn at Wardour Castle still adorns this abode of royalty; and the table off which he dined when visiting sir Robert Howard, the dramatist, yet remains as a memorial at Ashted in Surrey.

“Pryor’s Bank, Fulham, could once boast of a relic of the ‘merry monarch’, a backgammon-board with curious lock, and men stamped with subjects and mottos, two having on them busts of Louis XIV and Charles II. At the sale of this extraordinary collection, in May 1841, it was sold for ten guineas.

“The scene now changes to that of an expiring monarch, and leads us to the last memorials of Charles II. The king goes to Kensington House, sups with the duchess of Portsmouth, and, according to her own confession, is poisoned by her footman in a cup of chocolate.² He returns to Whitehall; and there, at half-past eleven on Friday morning, February 6th, 1685, dies *officially*, from an attack of apoplexy. Under the date of 14th of February occurs the following entry in the diary of the truthful Evelyn: ‘The king was this night very obscurely buried in a vault under Hen. VII Chapel at Westm^r, without any manner of pomp, and soone forgotten.’ The vault is at the east end of the south aisle of Henry VII’s chapel. Neither stately monument nor high-flown panegyric mark the spot where rest the remains of the once gay, voluptuous Charles. The only memorial above ground, which told of his burial in the Abbey, was his waxen effigy, clothed in the robes he wore at the

¹ In the *Gent. Mag.* for June 1794 is also engraved a meat-jack preserved in the house of Mr. Tombs, at Long Marston, four miles beyond Stratford-upon-Avon, where Charles was concealed after the flight from Worcester, and where he was railed at by the cookmaid for his awkwardness in winding up the jack.

² See dean Cowper in Spence’s *Anecdotes*, ed. Singer, p. 367.

installation of the knights of the Garter at Windsor. It stood in a wainscot press, just above the royal vault, but is now shut up from the public gaze.

“It is difficult to understand what Evelyn could have meant by saying that the king was *soon forgotten*. With all his glaring vices, no other monarch was ever more popular. Whilst in exile, the people toasted him as ‘*our land-lord*’; and he was welcomed back to England as the genius who should shatter the iron thralldom of the protectorate. No sooner was the restoration effected, than the ‘*king’s head*’ became a fashionable sign,—a fact attested by the tokens issued by John Tuthill, without Bishopsgate; Ann Cox at Dowgate; Richard Nettleton, in the Green Yard within Leadenhall; Robert Thody in Holborn; Edward Medwinter in St. John-street, Clerkenwell; Thomas Palliser in New Palace Yard, Westminster; John Everton in Newton-street; Jasper Shackar in Ratcliff Highway; Robert Cryer in Rosemary-lane; John Turner in Tooley-street; and others in both town and country, as for instance, Robert Abson in Colchester, Richard Ballard in Monmouth; and the house in West-street, Brighton, wherein the monarch was concealed during the night of October 14, 1651, previous to his escape to France, is still distinguished by the sign of ‘King Charles’ Head.’ The bust and effigy of the monarch were painted upon bowls, chargers, and gully tiles; and his memory is preserved in more pictures and statues than are perhaps to be found of any other English sovereign. Some of his juvenile portraits have already been alluded to, and a few executed during his riper years are worthy of mention. In the old Ball Room, or Vandyke Room, at Windsor, are three pictures of Charles when prince of Wales: in one he is with his parents, in another with the rest of the royal children, and in the third he appears at full-length, in armour. A portrait of Charles II, by Russell, is in Queen Mary’s Gallery at Hampton Court. In the long or eastern gallery of the British Museum is a sedent figure of the king by sir Peter Lely. He is in the robes of the order of the Garter, and wears a coal-black wig. Another of Lely’s full-length portraits of Charles is in Bridewell. And full-length pictures of the king, by Verrio and John Baptist Gaspar, are preserved at Christ’s Hospital, and in Painter-Stainers’ Hall, Little Trinity-lane. The court rooms of Barber-Surgeons’ Hall and Vintners’ Hall, Upper Thames-street; the Master’s Lodge at the Charter House; and Merchant Tailors’ Hall, Threadneedle-street, are each decorated with a portrait of Charles II.

“Among the miniatures in the Bernal collection was a gold locket set with an enamel portrait of the king, having the crown and letters C. R. on the back. But perhaps one of the most interesting pictures of Charles now existing is the celebrated miniature, by Cooper, which the king sent, in 1651, to Henry lord Beauchamp, and which long formed one of the

treasures of Stowe House. It is contained in an enamel case set with rose diamonds, and suspended on the boughs of an oak of bronze, mounted on a pedestal which bears an inscription setting forth its history.

“The statues of king Charles, if less numerous than his pictures, are not less interesting; and the following examples are recorded, as far as practicable, in the order of their erection. As the citizens of London were the first to manifest their disloyalty to the father, so were they foremost in exhibiting attachment to the son, decorating their Royal Exchange with no less than three effigies of their restored monarch. In a niche on the south front was a statue by Bushnell, which escaped the fire of the 10th of January 1838. Among the series of kings above the piazza, on the north side, was another figure, inscribed ‘*Carolus Secundus Rex, anno Domini 1648,*’ which is said to have been the work of Caius Gabriel Cibber; and the third statue stood on the centre of the quadrangle, and has been attributed by Vertue and Walpole to Quellin of Antwerp, by others to Bushnell, whilst Maitland correctly states it to be the work of Grinling Gibbons, who received the sum of £500 for its execution. On the pedestal, under an imperial crown, palm branches, etc., was a verbose and ill-deserved legend. The statue here spoken of must not be confounded with the one at present in existence, which replaced the former towards the close of the last century. The king, in this as in most of his statues, is habited as a Roman cæsar; and now occupies a niche in the corner of the piazza. Bacon has had the credit of this production; but it is the work of his pupil, John Spiller, born in 1763, and who died in May 1794, shortly after its completion. In a niche on the west side of Temple Bar is a statue of Charles II, by John Bushnell, put up about the year 1671-2. And on the 29th of May, 1672, another statue was raised to his honour in the Stocks Market, the site of which is now occupied by the Mansion House; an account of which is given by Strype (b. ii, p. 199). ‘At the north end of this market-place, by a water-conduit pipe, is erected a noble, great statue of king Charles II, on horseback, trampling on slaves, standing on a pedestal with dolphins cut in niches; all of freestone, and encompassed with handsome iron grates. This statue was made and erected at the sole charge of sir Robert Viner, alderman, knight, and baronet; an honourable, worthy, and generous magistrate of this city.’ Walpole, in his *Anecdotes of Painting* (ed. Dallaway, iii, 152), gives a curious history of this statue. He says: ‘The figure of John Sobieski, which was bought by sir Robert Viner, and set up at Stocks Market for Charles II, came over unfinished, and a new head was added by Latham; but the Turk on whom Sobieski was trampling, remained with the whole group, till removed to make way for the lord mayor’s Mansion House.’ The statue was removed in May 1799, and presented by the city to Robert Viner, esq., the legal representative of the loyal alderman who had set it up.

"The basso-relievo on the west side of the pedestal of the Monument, on Fish-street Hill, offers another effigy of Charles II, in a Roman habit and monstrous perriwig. It is the work of Caius Gabriel Cibber, and executed about the year 1676-7.

"In the centre of Soho-square is a marble statue of king Charles, with figures emblematic of the Thames, Severn, Trent, and Humber, at his feet. It was erected by his son, the duke of Monmouth, between the years 1681 and 1685. A stone statue of the king, in royal robes, and sceptre in hand, formerly stood on the front of the Town Hall in the Borough. The old building was taken down, and the present one erected in the year 1794; but the statue did not again grace its front, but was removed to the top of a watchhouse which occupied the centre of Three Crown-square. This, however, was not to be its last resting-place; for since then it has been quietly rusticated in a garden in the Walworth-road. One other London statue of Charles deserves attention. It was in the court of the College of Physicians, Warwick-lane, Newgate-street. A sum was voted for its erection in 1680; and some time between this date and 1689 it was placed upon its pedestal.

"It is not alone in the metropolis that statues of the restored monarch were set up. Among the benefactions and tokens of gratitude by Tobias Rustat, under-housekeeper of Hampton Court, and yeoman of the robes to his majesty, we find £1,000 as 'a free gift for the making and setting up the statue of his majesty king Charles the II, on horseback, in brass, in Windsor Castle'; and another £1,000 as 'a free gift to their majesties king Charles II and king James II, of their statues in brass: the former placed upon a pedestal in the royal hospital at Chelsea, and the other in White-Hall.' Both these statues are the work of Grinling Gibbons, and represent the king in Roman costume. The pedestrian statue of the king in the centre of the large court of Chelsea Hospital, is one of the best known, and perhaps best executed effigies of Charles II.

"If every personal relic of the monarch be lost, the limned canvas perish, and the sculptured marble crumble into dust, the name of the king will long be preserved in the race of spaniels known as *king Charles' breed*, and which are so closely connected with the sovereign that they may fairly claim a place among his memorials. Pepys, in describing Charles' landing at Dover, on the 25th of May 1660, speaks of 'a dog that the king loved', being of the royal party. He took his spaniels to his assembled ministers: hence, says Rochester (*Poems*, 1697, p. 150)—

'His very dog, at council board,
Sits grave and wise as any lord.'

And his canine pets were a peculiar offence to Evelyn, who, when summing up the character of the dead monarch, says: 'He tooke delight in

¹ See Peck's *Desid. Cur.*, xiv, 9.

having a number of little spaniels follow him, and lie in his bed-chamber, where he often suffer'd the bitches to puppy and give suck, w^{ch} render'd it very offensive; and, indeede, made the whole court nasty and stinking.' In spite of these strong but just expressions of worthy Evelyn, it may still be questioned whether these offensive spaniels were not among the least offensive of the court favourites of our second Charles, who gathered round him the most corrupt of that corrupt age; preferring to shower gifts and honours upon the harlot and the traitor, rather than on the virtuous and gallant adherents who had perilled life, and sacrificed lands and riches, to uphold a tottering throne, and restore to it a debauched, faithless, and ungrateful monarch."

FRIDAY, AUGUST 6.

This day commenced by an excursion to Stonchenge, taking the Devizes road; and a very numerous party assembled on the occasion. The weather was delightful, and the scene altogether very exciting. The Association were met at Stonehenge by sir Edmund Antrobus, bart.; Edmund Antrobus, esq., M.P.; many of the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood, and a large body of the members of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society; so that not less than from six to seven hundred were in attendance on this occasion.

Mr. Pettigrew introduced DR. THURNAM, who, from what is usually called the "Altar-Stone", read a paper on Stonehenge and other ancient Celtic temples, observing, in introduction, that he would not presume to go into any details as to points familiar to every one present; but rather confine himself to some observations on the probable relative age of Stonehenge as compared with Avebury, prefaced by some remarks on ancient British temples and consecrated sites in general. He observed, that these groups of stones, whether in Great Britain or on the Continent, were undoubtedly temples, uncovered on account of religious scruples existing among the ancient Celts and Germans against worshipping the Deity in a roofed edifice. He proceeded to recount various notices of Druidical temples, in classical writers, sometimes as places where captives were sacrificed; at others, as consecrated sites for the celebration of religious rites, and the concealment of sacred treasure. He also referred to similar structures in France and other parts of the Continent, and in various parts of Great Britain; some of them forming regular circles, others in semicircular or other less regular forms. In Britain they were almost always circular, and surrounded by a fosse and vallum. They were to be found in many parts of Great Britain, from the Scilly Isles to the Orkneys and Shetlands. Among them might be mentioned some small ones at Boscawen, in Cornwall; that at Stanton Drew, in Somersetshire; Stonehenge, and Avebury (about sixteen miles

to the north of it); Rollrich, in Oxfordshire; "Long Meg and her Daughters", in Cumberland, near Penrith. There was also a most remarkable one in the Orkneys; and some others in the Hebrides. The stones varied from three feet to fifteen feet or more in height, and were nearly all rough and unhewn, though some were hammer-dressed. The diameter of the circles ranged from sixty feet to three hundred and sixty feet, and, in the great circle at Avebury, to twelve hundred feet. The more usual width was about one hundred feet, as in the case of the circle where they were now assembled. The stones often consisted of complete numbers, such as twelve, thirty, sixty, one hundred; which might be supposed to have an astronomical significance. Some of the circles were approached by avenues,—in some cases lined with stones, as at Avebury,—allied with the avenues of sphinxes in Egypt.

Dr. Thurnam then proceeded to the consideration of the relative antiquity of Stonehenge and Avebury; and gave it as his opinion that Avebury was by far the more ancient, its date being probably anterior to the Belgic invasion of the island, when the Britons were probably unacquainted with metallic tools and weapons. This great megalithic circle, with its avenues and the connected mound of Silbury, was three miles in length, and must have presented a most remarkable appearance. It was probably the *locus consecratus* where the people and chiefs met for the settling of disputes, and the administration of justice, by the Druids. After a further description of the Avebury circles, Dr. Thurnam reverted to Stonehenge, which was perfectly unique. It was the only circle known in which the stones were square, and was constructed with no mean skill and ingenuity, the general effect being similar to the rudest attempts of Doric and Egyptian architecture. He proceeded to point out the various features of the temple, and then expressed his doubts whether the "altar-stone" was what its popular name imported. He thought if it had been used for sacrifices, some remains of bones, ashes, or charcoal, would have been found in the various excavations which had been made; but this had not been the case. He rather inclined to the theory that it was the stone of astronomical observation, from the fact that, at the solstice, the sun, to an observer standing upon the stone, was seen to rise precisely over what was called the "gnomon-stone", outside the circle. This he had himself tested on the 25th of June last. The circle was surrounded by a ditch, and approached by an avenue, which, though probably never set with stones, was traceable for some distance. It bifurcated about half a mile to the north-east; and one branch of it terminated in a very remarkable cursus, or hippodrome, a mile and three-quarters in length. Stonehenge clearly belonged to a later period than Avebury, as metallic tools must have been used in shaping the stones. He was inclined to place it in that transition period when iron had been introduced, but bronze tools also continued to be

used. This was connected with the Belgic immigration. He thought it belonged to this period; and that the whole work was contemporaneous, was proved by the chippings of the various kinds of stone being all found together at the bases of the stones, and in some of the adjacent barrows. He here observed that the fact of the syenite and greenstone being employed in the inner obeliscal stones, showed the existence of a friendly relation between the Belgæ and the powerful tribe of the Damnonii; or that the latter were tributary, as the stone must have been brought from their country, Devon or Cornwall. The great temple of Avebury being in the territory of an aboriginal tribe, the Belgæ would naturally wish to have a corresponding one for a similar purpose. Of the precise epoch of the Belgic invasion we were ignorant, but it was probably not earlier than two hundred years before Christ; and the date of Stonehenge might therefore be placed at a hundred years before Christ,—the epoch of Divitiacus, who reigned both in Gaul and Britain. Dr. Thurnam referred to the early notices of Stonehenge, and expressed his opinion of the story of Geoffrey of Monmouth, that it was a sepulchral monument to the British chiefs slain by the treachery of Hengist in the fifth century, was entirely fabulous. Dr. Thurnam then read an interesting account of the fall of the great trilithon, in 1797, taken from a magazine of the period; and concluded by a reference to the proposition, made eight or nine years since, of restoring this trilithon, of the propriety of which he declined to express an opinion.

MR. PETTIGREW having made a few remarks, and observed that a more complete account of the fall was to be found from the pen of his late friend, Dr. Maton, in the *Archæologia* (vol. xiii, pp. 103-106).

MR. BLACK called attention to the fact of Stonehenge being due south of Avebury, as apparently indicative of some intentional connexion. He rather inclined to Dr. Thurnam's opinion as to the "altar-stone" being misnamed, and requested his opinion as to whether the flat stone outside the circle, and between it and the "gnomon-stone", was not rather the stone of sacrifice. He also asked whether Dr. Thurnam had examined the rev. Mr. Duke's theory as to the astronomical connexion of the various circles of Avebury, Stonehenge, etc. He would much rather have given place to some local gentleman on the present occasion, his only claim on their attention being that, he believed, with the exception of Mr. Matcham, he was the only survivor of the gentlemen associated with sir Richard Hoare in the authorship of *Modern Wiltshire*.

DR. THURNAM replied at some length to the questions of Mr. Black. He coincided in the opinion that the flat stone mentioned by that gentleman was probably the altar-stone. One reason for this opinion was, that that was the usual position of the altar in the temples of Greece; and another was, that the stone in question would stand fire, which was not the case with the one usually called the "altar-stone". With regard

to the theory of the late rev. Mr. Duke, he expressed some doubts, as several of the so-called temples included by him in his planetary system were of a different character.

The discussion was closed by MR. PETTIGREW returning the thanks of the company to Dr. Thurnam for his interesting and useful observations.¹

AMESBURY. The company now drove to the beautiful grounds of sir Edmund Antrobus, bart. Here they for some time enjoyed the view from the elevation overlooking the lake, comprising the lower part of the grounds, with the house (yet unfinished), and the pretty vale of Amesbury, with a bold range of downs in the background. They then assembled, to the number of from three hundred to four hundred, in two spacious marquees at the head of the rising ground; where, by the liberality of the worthy baronet, a most elegant and sumptuous luncheon was provided.

At the close of the repast MR. PETTIGREW proposed the health of sir Edmund and his family, with the warmest thanks for the kind manner in which they had been entertained.

E. ANTROBUS, esq., M.P. (sir Edmund having left the chair), acknowledged the compliment, and expressed a hope that they would meet again under similar circumstances.

A portion of the party shortly afterwards proceeded to Amesbury church, which was rapidly examined with the assistance of Mr. C. E. Davis, who pointed out the most interesting features of the building. The date of the foundation of this church is thought to be the early part of the twelfth century; but the nave is of a later period, probably the fourteenth century, in the perpendicular style. The church underwent extensive restorations and alterations in 1853, and was reopened on the 8th of December in that year. It is of a cruciform plan, with the addition of a south aisle; and there are traces of a north aisle having existed at some period. At the north-east part of the church there are remains of Norman work, which Mr. Davis considered to have been connected with cloisters.

LAKE HOUSE was the next place visited, and is a fine example of a manor house of the latter part of the sixteenth century. It is seated on the western bank of the Avon, in the parish of Wilsford, and is the residence of the rev. Edward Duke, son of the writer on Stonehenge, into whose family the manor came in 1578. The grounds remain much in the style of the time. The visitors were hospitably received by the present proprietor, who exhibited his valuable museum, comprising many

¹ We forbear reporting more particularly Dr. Thurnam's paper, as it is intended for publication in the *Crania Britannica*, now in progress, by Dr. Thurnam and Mr. J. B. Davis,—a work especially recommended to the patronage of the members of the Association.

British, Roman, and other relics, among which may be enumerated the following:—Four ancient British urns found in tumuli on Lake estate; one of them of unusually large size and elegant form. A small earthen incense-cup, from the same. Amber beads of various forms. Jet and glass “pulley beads.” A large and elegant ornament of amber, consisting of eight pieces, with four perforations for strings very neatly drilled through each. A small flint arrow-head from a barrow. Fragments of cloth from urns, and in which the ashes were wrapped. Pins of bone and brass from the same, used for fastening the cloth. Delicate gold ornaments, supposed to be earrings; figured in sir R. C. Hoare’s *Ancient Wills* (vol. i, plate 31), found in a barrow on the Lake estate. Four very curious articles of bone, found in a barrow: supposed by sir R. C. Hoare (*Ancient Wills*, vol. i, p. 212, and plate 31) to have been used for casting lots, or for some kind of game. A small portion of the handle of a dagger, ornamented with innumerable minute gold studs, found in a barrow. Various brass lance-heads. A small chisel of brass. Whetstones: supposed to have been used for sharpening weapons. A crystal or agate bead, perfectly spherical, and perforated: found in ancient British village on Lake estate. Numerous and fine specimens of torques, armlets, bracelets, and rings, found near Amesbury. Ancient iron arrow-heads, supposed to have been used in the chase; found at Clarendon, near Salisbury. Fine specimens of Kimmeridge coal-money. Moulds for casting forged Roman coins. Five small crucibles, found walled up in a small room over the north porch of St. Thomas’ church, Salisbury: supposed by the late rev. E. Duke to have belonged to sir James Beckinsau, a priest in the Close of Salisbury (*temp.* Edward VI), and used by him for the purpose of making the *elixir vite* (see p. 17 *ante*). Padlock, keys, and a hammer, of iron; found at Old Sarum, on the site of the ancient cathedral. Ancient brass knife-handle, with figures of a warrior and woman upon it; found in the garden at Lake. Ancient brooch, of a triangular form, with figures of beasts at the angles; found at Old Sarum. Ancient gold and silver rings, found in the neighbourhood of Lake. Curious antique work in human hair, consisting of heraldic devices, etc. Tobacco-pipes of an ancient form. Various ancient rings, silver, gilt, and brass. An ancient episcopal ring, supposed to have belonged to Adam de Orten, bishop of Winchester *circa* 1333. Various antique crucifixes and figures of the Saviour, from coffins; one of them found at Old Sarum. Impressions of ancient seals, and a set of andirons, of brass, enameled, remarkably fine.

MR. PETTIGREW, on the part of the Association, having acknowledged the kind reception given to the members by Mrs. Duke and the rev. E. Duke, the party were ferried over the river to Great Durnford church. The principal features of this edifice are the arches of the north and south entrances. They are early Norman, and very curious, having the

zigzag mouldings and some very singular decorations. In the interior the chancel arch is a fine Norman one; and the font is a very remarkable specimen of the period of transition from Saxon to Norman. There is a monumental brass in the chancel, and a monument to the sister of the first earl of Malmesbury. It is to be regretted that the entrances of this church are disfigured and hidden by unsightly wooden porches; and it was also a source of much animadversion that the whole of the interior has recently been thickly whitewashed, which greatly injures the curious sculpture of the arches.

The old parish register was examined with interest.

Durnford church was the last place visited by the bulk of the excursionists, though a few walked to Ogbury Camp, which is an extensive earthen work on the brow of a hill a few hundred yards from the village, from which it is approached by what is supposed to have been a covered way, now used as a waggon road.

The party then returned to Salisbury, to attend the mayor's *conversazione* held in the Council Chamber. The company were received by the mayor and Mrs. Squarey; and the proceedings commenced by the reading of a paper, by Mr. J. GILBERT FRENCH, "On the Origin of the Interlaced Ornamentation." (See pp. 63-80; and illustrations, plates 3-10, *ante*.) A short discussion followed, in which Mr. Pettigrew, Mr. Wansey, and Mr. Vere Irving, took part; after which a vote of thanks was awarded to Mr. French for his very ingenious communication.

MR. HORMAN-FISHER then read a paper on "The Proceedings, in the Star Chamber, against the Recorder of Salisbury in 1632", of which the following is an abstract:

"During our researches into the antiquities of Salisbury, it may not be uninteresting to this meeting to be informed of the circumstances under which the ancient painted window, containing a description of the Creation,—which was on the south side of the parish church of St. Edmund, in this city,—was, in October 1629, destroyed by Mr. Henry Sherfield, the recorder of Salisbury, and a bencher of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. We find that, at that period, great objection was taken to the window from the exceedingly grotesque allegorical character of the colouring; which was regarded as an improper and untrue representation or story of the Creation, and that it tended to promote idolatry and superstition.

"It is remarkable that when Dr. John Jewell, bishop of Salisbury in 1567, in pursuance of a commission issued for the purpose, took down all the windows which were considered to be idolatrous, in the several churches at Salisbury, and in place thereof had clear glass put in, he, however, allowed this ancient window to remain. On the 16th of January, 1629, a vestry meeting was held in that parish, at which the rev.

Peter Thatcher, the vicar; the two churchwardens, and five justices of the peace, including Mr. Sherfield; besides other inhabitants, were present; when it was agreed, on a resolution moved by Mr. Sherfield, that he might take down the coloured glass, provided he repaired the window, at his own expense, with new plain glass; in which all concurred, except two, who expressed a desire to obtain the sanction of the bishop. It having come to the knowledge of the bishop of the diocese (Dr. John Davenant), that such an order in vestry had been made, he sent for Mr. John Limminge, one of the churchwardens of the parish, and informed him that he prohibited the parishioners from carrying out the order, and desired him not to allow the window to be taken down. Yet, in the following October, Mr. Sherfield, being instigated by a strong feeling on the subject, determined to destroy the window himself; and went, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, to the sexton's, who being from home, he desired the sexton's wife to let him into the church; which having done, he sent her away; and, having shut himself in the church alone, got upon the side of a pew, more than four feet from the ground, where he stood and broke the window in several places with a pike staff. In doing of which the staff gave way, and he fell into the seat, and was so much hurt that he was obliged to lay there some time before he could get up and send for a horse to take him home; and he was confined to his house for a month by the injury he received from the fall.

“For this offence, proceedings by information were taken by the attorney-general against the recorder in the court of Star Chamber; and therein we have Mr. Sherfield's description of the window, which, from its quaintness, it may be amusing to refer to. He stated that the window and the painting therein, was not a true representation of the Creation; for that it contained divers forms of little old men in blue and red coats, and naked in the heads, feet, and hands, for the picture of God the Father; and that in one place he was set forth with a pair of compasses in his hands, laying them upon the sun and moon; and the painter had set him forth creating the birds on the third day, and had placed the picture of beasts and man and woman on the fifth day,—the man a naked man, and the woman naked in some part, as much as from the knees upwards, rising out of the man; and the seventh day he had therein represented the like image of God sitting down, taking his rest. Whereas he conceived that this was false; for there is but one God, and the window represented seven Gods; and the sun and moon were not made on the third day, but on the fourth day; nor were the trees and herbs made on the fourth day, but on the third day; nor were the fowls made on the third day, but on the fifth day; and man was not created on the fifth, but on the sixth day; nor did the Lord God so create woman, as rising out of man, but he took a rib of the man when he was

in a deep sleep, and thereof made he the woman. In all which the workman was mistaken. In regard of which falsifications he deemed that it was not a true representation of the Creation, but rather an abuse of the true and lively word of God; which to pull down could not, as he conceived, be any offence in him,—at least in such manner as in the information was pretended. It being so false a representation, and so profane a setting forth of the image of God the Father, seven times; and he being a parishioner, and troubled therewith in conscience by the space of twenty years,—for he could not go into the church, but he must see it, sitting right opposite to it,—he was much grieved at it, and had long wished that it were removed; and yet, in respect of himself, laboured still to disaffect; but seeing the dishonour done to God thereby, by some ignorant persons, as he was informed by the pastor of the parish, and fearing that others might offend in idolatry, he, by order of the vestry, did take down some little quarries of the window. And it was done by him without any disturbance; and he did it only in such places of the glass as the representation of the Deity, so falsified, was. He did it not to arrogate to himself authority, but as being bound to do what he did to preserve a good conscience. It was not done riotously, nor by combination with any others. He never deserved, nor would deserve, such a bitter charge, as, through the malice of his enemies, was laid upon him by the information.

“This proceeding against Mr. Sherfield occasioned an extraordinary feeling of excitement, not only in Salisbury, but throughout the country, from the strong opinions which were formed by the public on the subject. And on the trial, which took place in the court of Star Chamber on the 6th and 8th days of February 1632, the interest taken was so great that the court was crowded by persons from all parts; and there was an unusually full attendance of privy councillors on the occasion, for no less than twenty-two members presided on the hearing; of whom four declined to pass any sentence, but each of the remaining eighteen separately delivered judgment.

“Lord Cottington, chancellor of the exchequer, strongly condemned the conduct of the recorder, and looked upon the breaking of the window as like to the acts of Puritans and Brownists; denounced his disobedience and contempt of the church, having thereby touched upon the royal power, and encroached upon the hierarchy of the bishops, who have their authority from the king. He moved Mr. Sherfield should be removed from his office of recorder, that he make a public acknowledgment of his fault in the church, and pay a fine of £1,000 to the king.

“Sir Robert Heath, the chief justice of the Common Pleas, declined to bind him to good behaviour, as he was a gentleman of good reputation in the county; but would have him make acknowledgment of his fault to the bishop, and pay a fine of five hundred marks.

“Sir Thomas Richardson, lord chief justice of the King’s Bench, dilated on the subject of idolatry ; found fault with Mr. Sherfield for not having complained of the window to the bishop ; praised him for his laudable conduct, saying that, ‘to my knowledge, he hath done good in that city (Salisbury) since I went that circuit, so that there is neither beggar nor drunkard to be seen there’; and, as it was the first offence known to have been committed by him, agreed to his making submission to the bishop, and fined £500.

“Mr. secretary Cooke enlarged upon the subject of images ; looked upon the recorder’s act as done out of zeal, but contended that private men were not to make batteries of glass windows in churches at their pleasure, upon pretence of reformation. He advised an acknowledgment of his fault to the bishop as a sufficient atonement for his offence.

“The bishop of London gave a lengthy judgment, entering upon the question of imagery, the grievousness of idolatry, tracing its origin, progress, etc. ; and ended by agreeing with the lord chancellor as to the measure of punishment.

“The earl of Dorset thought it would be a lawful work to remove all pictures and images out of the church, as vanities and teachers of lies. He, however, censured Mr. Sherfield for the manner in which he had proceeded, and thought acknowledgment of his fault to the bishop a sufficient punishment.

“The earl of Manchester, lord privy seal, agreed with the earl of Dorset.

“Dr. Neale, archbishop of York, severely censured the recorder, and agreed, as to his punishment, with the chancellor.

“Lord Coventry, the lord keeper of the great seal, condemned Romish superstition, but upheld the authority of the government by the reverend fathers of the church, the bishops. He adjudged the recorder to make acknowledgment of his fault, and to repair the broken window in a decent manner.

“The four privy councillors who declined to pass any sentence, were the earl Holland, the earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, lord chamberlain ; the lord Newburgh, and sir Robert Naunton. The votes of the remaining members of the privy council were thus given. Nine—namely the lord Cottington, chancellor of the exchequer ; Mr. secretary Windibanke, sir Henry Vane, the bishop of London, the lord Wentworth, the viscount Falkland, the earl of Devonshire, the earl of Arundel, and the archbishop of York,—agreed to a fine of £1,000 ; that Mr. Sherfield should be deprived of his recordership, be bound to good behaviour, and make a public acknowledgment of his fault. And nine—namely the chief justice of the Common Pleas, the lord chief justice of the King’s Bench, Mr. secretary Cooke, sir Thomas Jarmyn, sir Thomas Edmonds, the viscount Wimbleton, the earl of Dorset, the earl of Manchester, lord

privy seal; and the lord Coventry, lord keeper of the great seal,—agreed that he should not be discharged from his places, nor bound to good behaviour, but should make acknowledgment of his offence to the bishop before such persons as he might think fit. Four of these members did not set any fine. Four set a fine of five hundred marks, and one a fine of £500; which fine of £500 was taken for the king, because, according to the rules and orders of the court of Star Chamber, where there was a difference of fines, the king was to have the middle fine.”

At the conclusion of this paper, a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Horman-Fisher.

MR. BLACK was then called upon to give a description of some ancient documents connected with Trinity Hospital. Among these was a will, dated 1406, by which certain sums were left to the prisoners in the gaol at Salisbury, and also to those in the custody of the sheriff of Wilts, at Old Sarum. He observed that, from this document, it was evident that up to this time—and probably to a later period—the castle at Old Sarum was not demolished, but was used as the king’s prison. The next document was a bull of pope Boniface the Ninth, with the leaden seal in beautiful preservation, permitting the erection of a chapel for divine worship at the hospital. He then produced two or three documents, in which pardons were granted to those who should contribute towards the support and maintenance of Trinity Hospital. He subsequently referred to a patent of king Edward IV; to a beautiful instrument of the time of Henry IV, granting the mayor and corporation license in mortmain to appropriate land of the value of one hundred shillings yearly to the hospital; to an instrument of pardon or indulgence, dated in the fifteenth year of Richard II; to a document issued by Richard, bishop of Salisbury, reciting the bull of pope Boniface respecting the erecting of a chapel, dated the 27th of March 1396; a grant of the time of Henry IV; and a grant of queen Elizabeth to possess land in mortmain. This last mentioned document was very beautifully written, and had a pen and ink drawing of the queen at the top, close to the large initial letter of the instrument.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 7.

The closing meeting was held in the Council Chamber at 10 A.M., T. J. Pettigrew, V.P., presiding, when votes of thanks were severally proposed, and carried unanimously, to the patrons of the Congress; to the mayor and corporation; to the dean and chapter of the cathedral; to the president, to the vice-presidents, and other officers; to the authors of papers, and the exhibitors of antiquities; to the lord bishop of the diocese; to the very rev. the dean of Salisbury; to the mayor of Salis-

bury; to the right hon. Sidney Herbert, M.P.; to the mayor of Wilton; to sir Edmund Antrobus, bart.; to the rev. S. B. Ward; and to sir Frederick H. Hervey Bathurst, bart., for their elegant and hospitable entertainments; and to the chairman for his attention to the general business of the meeting. These votes were severally acknowledged by the mayor, sub-dean Eyre, Mr. Brodie, etc., etc.; and the meeting broke up to visit St. Nicholas' Hospital, at which they were received by the rev. Mr. Mayo, and conducted over the building.

The party now proceeded to Britford church, an ancient cruciform church with a tower, and having on the north side the mausoleum of the earls of Radnor. The principal object in visiting this church was to make examination of a tomb stated to be that of the duke of Buckingham, and denoted as such by a brass plate affixed over it. Here MR. PETTIGREW read the following paper, forwarded by the author from Norfolk, who was prevented attending the Congress:

ON A MONUMENT IN THE CHANCEL OF BRITFORD CHURCH.

BY HENRY HARROD, F.S.A.

The very curious church at Britford is, I am glad to see, included in the programme of the Salisbury meeting. I think it right, however, to warn my fellow labourers against placing too implicit a reliance on guide-books, and looking for something they certainly will not find there,—something unique in mediæval monumental sculpture.

The guide-books are not wholly in fault. They are indebted for the myth to which I am about to call attention to sir Richard Colt Hoare, bart. Whether sir Richard conjured it up himself, or too readily adopted the romances of other people, I have no means of ascertaining. Be that as it may, he has put himself to some cost in the matter; for he has gone to the expense of an illustrative engraving, which will be found in the third volume of his *Modern Wiltshire*;¹ and which, singularly incorrect though it be, does not support the statement in his text!

The monument to which I would call attention is on the north side of the chancel of Britford church, and which, he states in his account of Britford, is 'a memorial of the fate of Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, generally believed to have been beheaded at Salisbury in 1483, and buried at the Grey Friars there.

Perhaps it will be better to place his own words before you, which guide-books and local historians have done their best to implant as firmly as possible in the popular mind:

"But the most interesting memorial is on the north side of the chancel, commemorating the fate of the unfortunate duke of Buckingham. It is

¹ P. 54. In the Hundred of Cawden.

an altar tomb, having a large marble slab on the upper surface, and a base richly sculptured, with various figures placed within niches. It is rather singular that a doubt should have been entertained for so many years respecting this tomb, as the two shields of arms at one end of it clearly prove them to have indicated the families of Stafford and Rivers, —the first bearing a chevron, the last a fess. On referring to the pedigree of Stafford, in Dugdale's *Baronage*, we find 'Henricus Stafford dux Buck' decapitatus apud Salisbury 1 Ric. III.' The said personage married Katherine, daughter of Richard Widvil, earl Rivers; and as the two shields *correspond, in a great degree*, with the arms of the two families, I am inclined to suppose that the figures on the base of the tomb allude to the melancholy event which took place at Salisbury.

"There are six niches, five of which contain male and female figures. The first is vacant; which I think was designed for the unfortunate duke. (!) I consider the female figure in the second niche, having a crown on her head, as representing the duchess, his wife. The next figure is evidently an ecclesiastic, or bishop, deploring the unfortunate fate of the duke; and at this period, Widville, brother of the duchess, was bishop of the see. The fourth figure represents a female crowned, like the second, holding a sword in one hand, and in the other a cap or bonnet, probably that of the duke. The fifth figure represents the executioner with the sword in his hand. The last figure representing a female holding up her hand in apparent grief, and with a child in her arms, as alluding to one of the unfortunate duke's offspring.

* * * * *

"Authors have differed about the place of the duke's execution. Some have asserted it to have been at Shrewsbury, where he was taken; and others at Salisbury. But the tomb in Britford church, on the base of which the sad event is portrayed, will be sufficient evidence to prove (independent of the high authorities of Holinshed and Dugdale) that the execution took place at Salisbury; and in the library of the Society of Antiquaries (MS. 99) there is a record that Henry duke of Buckingham was beheaded at Salisbury, and buried at the Grey Friars there."

Setting aside the perfectly unique character of such a mediæval monumental record, and the oddity of the inference that a monument at Britford should confirm the fact of the duke's death and burial at Salisbury, let us look a little into sir Richard's tale, and then refer to his illustrative plate. Two shields at one end "clearly prove them to have indicated the families of Stafford and Rivers; the first bearing a chevron, the second a fess." But a little further on he qualifies this by saying the two shields "*correspond, in a great degree*, with the arms of the two families." Turn, then, to his plate. There is the chevron, sure enough; but the other shield has not the "fess canton" of the Woodvilles, earls Rivers; and neither there, nor in his description, do we see aught to

identify these arms.¹ Down, therefore, goes the largest peg on which his story hangs.

On the front of the monument there are six niches: "the first vacant, the rest containing male and female figures." The first is vacant, most true; but a slight look at the monument will shew a fracture and the trace of an iron holdfast in the back, which once supported the figure. I feel very safe in saying it was not left vacant for the unfortunate duke, especially considering who the rest of the company are. For the next figure is not the duchess; but a figure of the Virgin at a *prie-dieu*, as she is frequently represented in mediæval sculpture. This latter is not shewn at all in the engraving. The third niche has a bishop. It is St. Nicholas, or St. Thomas of Canterbury. The lady with the *bonnet* and sword turns out to be St. Katherine with her customary emblems, a wheel and sword. The executioner—not of the duke, but of a dragon beneath his feet (which has entirely disappeared in the engraving), must be St. Michael. Lastly, the lady "in apparent grief" bears, not a baby, as the text and engraving both assert, but a pot of ointment; and I have therefore taken the liberty of calling her St. Mary Magdalen.

I left the church without looking so closely to the arms as I should have done, as I was then under the impression that, although sir Richard had made a great blunder about the figures, it yet might have been erected by the duke of Buckingham and his duchess Katherine, in their lifetime, for the purpose of an Easter sepulchre; and it was only when I subsequently referred to his plate, and then more closely to his description, that doubts arose on that head. With reference to sir Richard's charming romance, I think I may conclude in the words he quotes on his illustrative plate,—“Off with his head! So much for Buckingham!”

To this communication Mr. PETTIGREW appended the following remarks:

“The observations of Mr. Harrod are exceedingly valuable, as correcting a statement contained in a local history of distinguished value and excellence. It is, however, deeply to be regretted that, in historical researches, greater care should not have been paid to verify the opinions so confidently put forth. In addition to the information which Mr. Harrod has imparted to us on this subject, it is due to the compiler of the excellent *Salisbury Guide* to state that he has substantiated the point at issue further by copying a letter addressed, in 1838, to the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, giving an account of the ‘Discovery of the Remains of the Duke of Buckingham, who was beheaded at Salisbury’; from which communication we learn that, ‘during the alterations and improvements at the Saracen’s Head inn, it became necessary to remove the brick floor-

¹ The arms on one shield are a plain chevron, which may therefore be Stafford; on the other, *on a fess engrailed a bar*.

ing of one of the rooms, and dig to some depth. In the course of this operation, about eight inches below the soil, they came to a human skeleton. Observe, the place here indicated can only be a few yards—possibly feet—from the very spot where Buckingham suffered decapitation. Appearances make it probable that it was at that time a kitchen or scullery, and opened upon the court-yard, which was the scene of the execution. The remains so discovered were evidently those of a human being; and the skeleton was complete, save that it wanted the head and right arm! The first impression on the mind of the landlord was, that the remains thus discovered were those of some travelling pedlar who had been murdered in the house, and for secrecy buried on the spot. The absence of the arm, it seems, suggested the idea that such might have possibly been the vocation of the deceased; and they accounted for the non-appearance of the head by supposing that it had been cut off by the murderers on finding that the grave they had excavated was too small to contain the body. With this impression the landlord himself took up one of the ribs, and, measuring it by his own, averred that the deceased must have been of large dimensions. The servant maid laid irreverent hands on the neck bones; and one ‘rude knave’ actually seized the ‘recky shanks’ of that honoured left leg, once encompassed with the glittering insignia of the most noble order of the Garter. The spinal column appeared embedded in the clay; and, on taking up some of the detached vertebræ, they crumbled to dust in their hands. As may be supposed, the whole remains were in a like friable condition; and, acting on the uncomplimentary impression, that what was once the most high and puissant prince, Henry of Buckingham, was no other than a murdered pedlar, they actually, with their ‘dirty shovels’, knocked about his ‘noble dust’, and in a few minutes compounded it with the clay ‘where-
to ’t was kin!’

“The author of this letter, thus disposing of the opinion that the duke of Buckingham’s remains were interred in Britford church, yet is inclined to consider the tomb as a probable monument to his memory; but he states that the clerk of the parish assured him that the tomb in question had been ‘removed to its present site within his memory; that it was discovered on taking down the old College of De Vaux, previously to the erection of the modern houses which bear the name of De Vaux’s Place.’ It is therefore clear that this monument is in no way whatever connected with the duke of Buckingham; and I am disposed to regard the architecture of the tomb as of a period anterior to the time in which the duke suffered.”

Examination of the figures represented on the tomb, together with the character and period of the architecture, completely satisfied every one present that it could have no relation whatever to the duke of Buckingham; and that the plate bearing inscription of it, as such, ought immediately to be removed.

From Britford the Association now proceeded to Clarendon, and made examination of the few portions of the walls of the ancient building which remain,—the principal being only thirty-four feet in length by twenty feet in height, and conjectured to have been the gable end of the great hall. On this portion the following inscription has been fixed :

“The building of which this fragment formed a part, was long a favourite residence of the English monarchs, and has been historically connected with many important transactions and distinguished characters. Among others, Philip, king of Navarre, here rendered the first homage which was paid to Edward I as king of France ; and John, king of France, with David, king of Scots, spent here a portion of their captivity. More especially here were enacted the Constitutions of Clarendon,—the first barrier raised against the claims of secular jurisdiction by the see of Rome. The spirit awakened within these walls ceased not to operate till it had vindicated the authority of the laws, and accomplished the reformation of the Church of England. To prevent the entire destruction of so interesting a memorial of past ages, sir F. H. H. Bathurst, bart., caused it to be supported and strengthened, and this inscription to be affixed, A.D. 1844.”

The irregular structure of the ancient palace was displayed in 1821, when sir Thomas Phillipps, bart., made excavations, and found evidence of a number of small apartments extending over a surface of not less than seven hundred feet, from east to west. The great hall was ascertained to have been ninety feet in length, and sixty-two in width. The floors of the rooms were furnished with glazed tiles of a square and a triangular shape, ornamented with representations of dragons, griffins, birds, flowers, etc., of different colours. Some fragments of stained glass were also obtained ; and shingles, or slates, with which the building had been roofed. The walls were of considerable thickness, varying from two feet eight inches to the extent of five feet two inches. In the course of this examination on the spot, and in its immediate neighbourhood, many Roman coins were met with. The plan of the place, as traced by sir Thomas Phillipps, may be seen in sir Richard Colt Hoare's *Wiltshire*, in the history of the hundred of Alderbury. From this investigation, the building is, perhaps, to be looked upon rather as a hunting-lodge than a palatial residence ; the whole consisting of about six acres.

Having viewed the remains of ancient Clarendon, the party proceeded to Clarendon Park, the seat of sir Frederick H. H. Bathurst, bart., where they were received by lady Harvey Bathurst and family, and most elegantly entertained. The mansion and grounds, with the most beautiful flower garden, were deservedly objects of great admiration, as exhibiting the finest taste and excellent judgment. Having made due acknowledgments for the very gratifying manner in which they had been received and entertained, the members and visitors departed ; and thus terminated this most satisfactory Wiltshire Congress.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

Lease relating to the Hospitallers, referred to on page 158 ante.

Hec indentura testat̃ qđ religiosi viri ffrat̃ Phūs de Thame prior
 ⁊ frēs Hospitalis S̃ci Joh̃is Jerl̃m in Anglia unāi assensu ⁊ volun-
 tate concesserunt ⁊ ad firmā dimiserunt d'no Edō de Bereford ⁊
 Joh̃i filio suo reddi⁹ ⁊ ſvicia cū leta ⁊ regalitate onū tenenciū
 ipoꝝ prioris ⁊ frūm in Wischawe quondam templi in com̃ Warr^o
 tenend ⁊ hēnd ad totam vitam ipoꝝ dñi Ed̃i ⁊ Joh̃is de p̃d̃cis priore
 ⁊ frib; ⁊ eoꝝ successorib; redendo inde annuatī domui p̃d̃coꝝ
 prioris ⁊ frūm de Balleshale sex solidos ⁊ octo denarios sterlingoꝝ
 ad Ṽios nat̃itat̃ bti Joh̃is Bapte ⁊ purificacōis bte Marie vir'gis p
 equales porcōes. Et in cessu vel decessu utriusq; dimid' marcā
 noīe obi⁹. Et d̃ci dn's Edūs ⁊ Joh̃ēs in fine t'min p'd̃ci dim'tent
 ⁊ utq; eoꝝ dim'tet dic⁹ reddi⁹ ⁊ ſvicia cū Leta ⁊ regalitate p'd'cas
 eisdē p'ori ⁊ frib; ⁊ eoꝝ successorib; integre sine cont'dictōe ali-
 quali' In cuj^o rei testiōniū sigillū cōe p'd̃c̃z prioris ⁊ frūm. ⁊
 sigilla d̃coꝝ d'ni Ed'i ⁊ Joh'is huic indent'e alt'nat̃i sint appensa.
 Da⁹ apud Ffontē cl̃icoꝝ jux^a London' in celebracōe capit̃i p'd̃coꝝ
 prioris ⁊ frūm die Martis in festo S̃ci Barnabi Ap̃li anno regni
 d'ni regis Edwardi t'cii a conquestu Anglie vicesimo septio et
 regni sui Ffranc quarto deciō.

Philip de Thame was preceptor of Hogshaw, in Bucks, in 1328, and succeeded Leonard de Tybertis as prior of the order in England before 1338, as in that year he caused an extent of all the possessions of the order in this country to be made, which has been published by the Camden Society. Sir Edmund de Bereford was eldest son of sir William, chief justice of the Common Pleas in the reign of Edward II. His son John was in holy orders in 1360. I have a number of deeds of this family which shew that their pedigree in Dugdale's *Warwickshire* is extremely incorrect.

T. WAKEMAN.

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URICONIUM.

BY THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., F.S.A.

For some reason or other, which it would, perhaps, not be easy to explain, many of the largest and most important towns in Roman Britain stood on the western side of the island. Commercial interests had probably something to do with this distribution of towns, especially on the borders of Wales; for there can be no doubt that the Romans profited very largely by the mineral and other products of that mountainous district, while it seems probable that a considerable trade was carried on with Ireland. If we proceed up the border, along the lines of roads indicated by the *Itineraries*, from Glevum (Gloucester), which appears always to have been an important commercial town, we meet with Ariconium (Weston), which has evidently been a place of some importance; Isea (Caerleon) and Venta (Caerwent), both large towns; Magna (Kenchester), the very name of which would assure us of its character, if we were not able still to trace the circuit of its walls; Bravinium, the true site of which seems still doubtful, but which was existing in the time of Ptolemy, and can hardly have been an insignificant place; and, excelling all the others in extent and importance, the town which Ptolemy calls Viroconium (Οὐιροκόνιον). From the *Itinera* of Antoninus, who calls the town Uroconium and Viroconium, we learn that it stood, not only upon the road up the border which formed the line of communication between the towns mentioned above, but also upon the great military road from

London to North Wales, where it formed the intermediate station between Uxacona (Oaken Gates) and Rutunium (Rowton). This statement enables us, without any doubt, to identify the site of this ancient town with Wroxeter; for the lines of the two roads are well known, and both popularly called Watling-street; and it is close to Wroxeter that the great Roman road of the border (now called the Watling-street road) joins the great Watling-street running from London to Segontium (near Caernarvon). In the *Itineraries* given in Richard of Cirencester this town occurs several times; and its name is spelt Virioconium, Urioconium, and Uriconium: the writer of this book, whatever estimate we may form of its authority, stating that it was one of the largest towns in Britain.¹ The anonymous geographer of Ravenna also mentions it, and calls it, like Richard of Cirencester, Uriconium; and it is probable that this was the form of the name which prevailed in the later period of Roman domination in this island. It is the form which has generally been adopted by modern antiquaries.

It is evident that the city of Uriconium, or (as it was at least then called) Viroconium, existed in the time of the geographer Ptolemy, who is generally considered as having compiled his great work about A.D. 120; but there is no evidence whatever in support of the supposition that it had been a British town before it was occupied by the Romans; nor can I understand any necessary connexion between it and the entrenchment on the Wrekin, at a distance of three or four miles from it. There is hardly a hill upon the border at all suitable for such a purpose, the summit of which is not entrenched. Ptolemy says that Viroconium was in the country of the Carnavii (*ἐν οἷς πόλεις*); but he does not say, as is said by whoever wrote the book which goes under the name of Richard of Cirencester, that it was inhabited by them.

¹ "Ad fluvium Devam primo siti erant Carnabii, quibus habitatae fuerunt Benone, Etocetum, Banchorium, monasterium totius insulae celeberrimum, quod in contentione Augustini eversum non postea resurrexit, et reliquarum mater Uriconium, quae inter Britanniae civitates maximas nomen possidebat." (Rich. of Cirencest., *De Situ Brit.*, lib. i, c. 6.) The style of this passage seems to me quite that of an antiquary of the last century. A monk of the fourteenth would hardly have used such a phrase as *contentio Augustini*, and he would certainly not have omitted the word *sancti*; and little faith can be placed in its authenticity. The case is, however, I think, different with the itineraries, or diaphragmata, given in this mysterious book.

One or two other arguments have been advanced with regard to the age of Uriconium, which it may, perhaps, be well to consider before I go on to other questions. Among the inscribed monuments discovered from time to time in the cemetery of the ancient city, is one to a standard-bearer of the *fourteenth* legion, named Marcus Petronius, who was thirty-eight years of age, and had been a soldier eighteen years. This was the legion employed in the war against queen Boadicea, which was withdrawn from Britain as early as A.D. 68. It has been assumed, therefore, that Marcus Petronius was buried in the cemetery of Uriconium before the year just mentioned; that he was, no doubt, one of the soldiers engaged in this war; and that this city must therefore have been then in existence. But various circumstances connected with the Roman burials would lead us to believe that a monumental tablet like this could hardly have been left untouched during four centuries; and surely the fact of a soldier having been buried in a certain locality is not alone a proof that the whole legion to which he belonged was there with him. To place this point in a popular point of view, suppose that we found, in a church in New York, a monument stating that a soldier of the fourteenth British regiment of the line was buried there in 1820, we should not immediately conclude that New York was garrisoned at that time by the fourteenth regiment, or that that regiment had been in America. So, no doubt, officers and soldiers of the Roman legions were often absent from their regiments on leave, or after their time of service was completed, and may have died during their absence. We have instances, indeed, of such occurrences; and as examples we may mention that, although we know that the second and twentieth legions were established in this island during the whole Romano-British period, we find inscriptions in Muratori shewing that a soldier of the second legion, named Lucius Porcius, was buried at Nîmes, in Gaul;¹ and that a soldier of the twentieth legion was buried in the district of Novara in Italy.² As the fourteenth legion was long stationed in Germany, Marcus Petronius may have come thence on a visit to Britain, and died at Uriconium, at a much later date than that to which this monument is supposed to belong.

¹ Muratori, *Thesaurus Vet. Inscript.*, tom. ii, p. DCCCLV, 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. DCCCLXIV.

Another piece of supposed evidence, equally inconclusive, has been seized upon. In 1841 a large brass coin of Trajan (A.D. 98-117), in good preservation, was found embedded in the mortar of the large mass of Roman building called the Old Wall; and it was somewhat hastily concluded that this proved the building in which it was found to have been erected during Trajan's reign, and that Uriconium itself was built early in the second century. It is manifest that a Roman coin might find its way into the mortar of a Roman building at any period subsequent to the reign in which it was coined.¹

It is clear, however, that Uriconium was in existence in the time of Ptolemy, that is, at the beginning of the second century; but we know nothing of its history, and the only allusions to it are found in the *Itineraries* or road-books. A Welsh prince and bard, Llywarch Hên, has been brought forward with a very precise account of the destruction of Uriconium by the Saxons in the sixth century. I confess that I place little faith in poems said to be written in the fifth and sixth centuries, in systems of rhymes imitated from the French and Anglo-Norman poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and I can only look upon this poem as built upon some of the legends which attached themselves to the ruins of the Roman city at a comparatively late period. That the story it gives us is entirely incorrect has been proved beyond a doubt by one discovery made in the course of our excavations. Three human skeletons were found in one of the hypocausts, where the individuals to whom they belonged had sought shelter when the city was taken and ruined, and its inhabitants massacred. One of these was that of an old man, who had died crouched up in a corner; and near him was found a little heap of Roman coins, which had been enclosed in a small wooden

¹ Among a quantity of coins found on the site of Uriconium, in the possession of Mr. W. H. Oatley of Wroxeter, are a silver British (or Celtic, for it was perhaps Gaulish) coin, and a Roman consular coin, also of silver. The British coin is of the same type as some gold coins found in Kent, and represented in Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i, pl. vii, figs. 1 to 6. The other coin is one of the most common consular denarii, and was no doubt in circulation during a long period. These Celtic coins, which appear to have belonged to the earliest period of the Roman domination, were also, no doubt, in circulation long afterwards; and the discovery of them in any particular spot is no proof that they were deposited there at the time when they were fresh struck. In this case the coin accords with the information we gain from Ptolemy, that Viroconium was one of the oldest of the Roman towns in Britain.

coffer, and had evidently belonged to the man who had sought shelter in this singular place of refuge. The number of these coins was a hundred and thirty-two. They consisted of one of Tetricus, one of Claudius Gothicus, thirteen of Constantine the elder, one of Constans, thirty-six of Constantine II, five of Constantius II, one of Julian, two of Helena, one of Theodora, twenty-four of the *Urbs Romæ* type, thirty-four of the type Constantinopolis, one of Valens, six of the rude copies of the older Roman coins which were made in the period just preceding the Saxon invasions of the middle of the fifth century, and six which were so much worn and corroded that they could not be made out. It has been suggested by one of our first authorities on such subjects (Mr. Roach Smith) that there were stores of these coins of the Constantine period in Gaul, and that they were from time to time sent over to Britain; which would explain why they have generally the appearance of being fresh from the mint, while the coin of a later emperor, Valens, is very much worn. After the island had been abandoned by the imperial government, these coins of the emperors of the Constantine family must have ceased to be imported, and could no longer have been found in such a condition; so that the period at which the city of Uriconium was destroyed is fixed, within very narrow limits, to the period of the invasions of the barbarians towards the middle of the fifth century. It is, as far as we know, the first case that has ever occurred in which the antiquary has had an opportunity of ascertaining exactly the coins which an individual carried about, as those in circulation in this country, at the close of the Roman period.¹

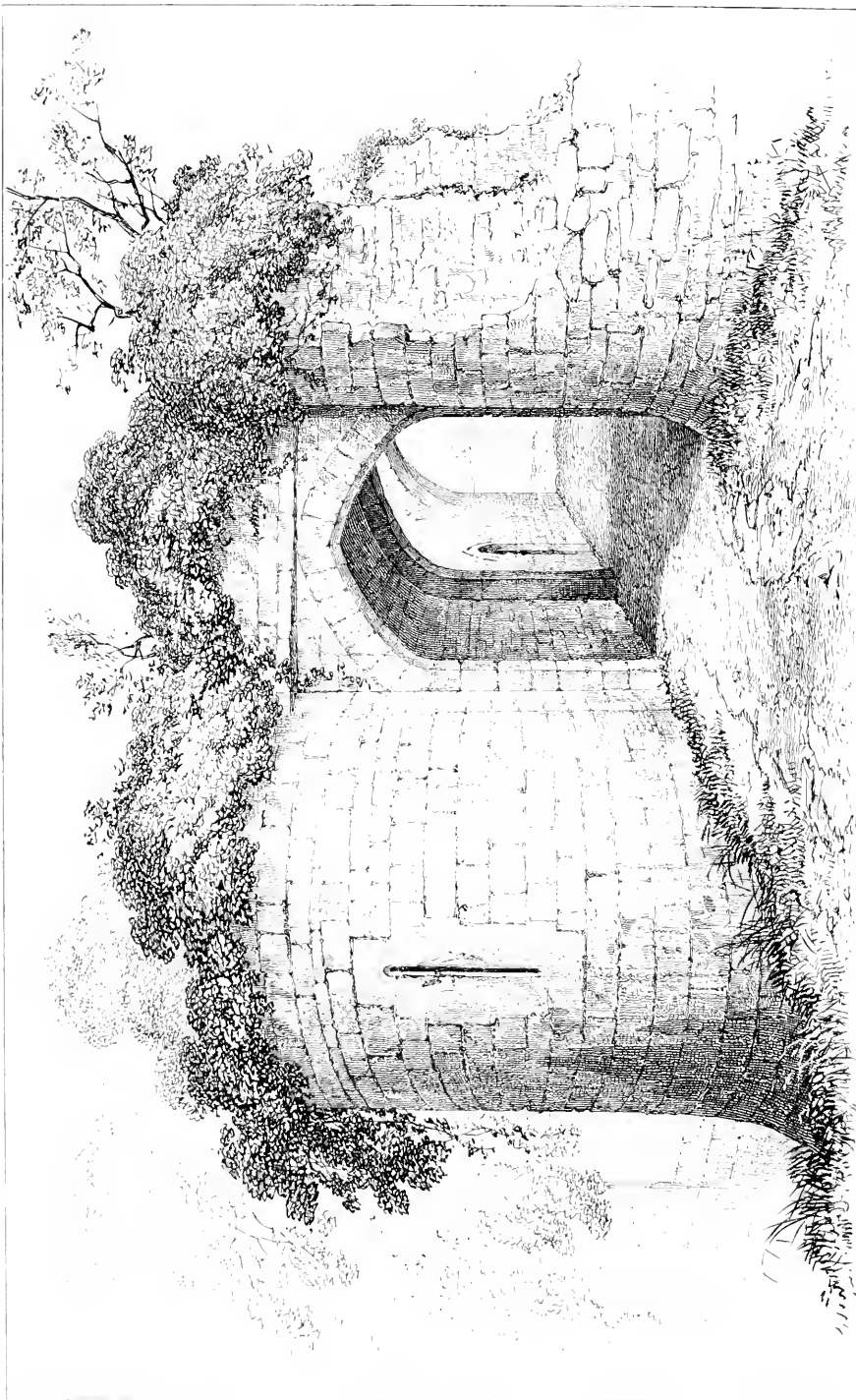
We may therefore safely state that the city of Uriconium

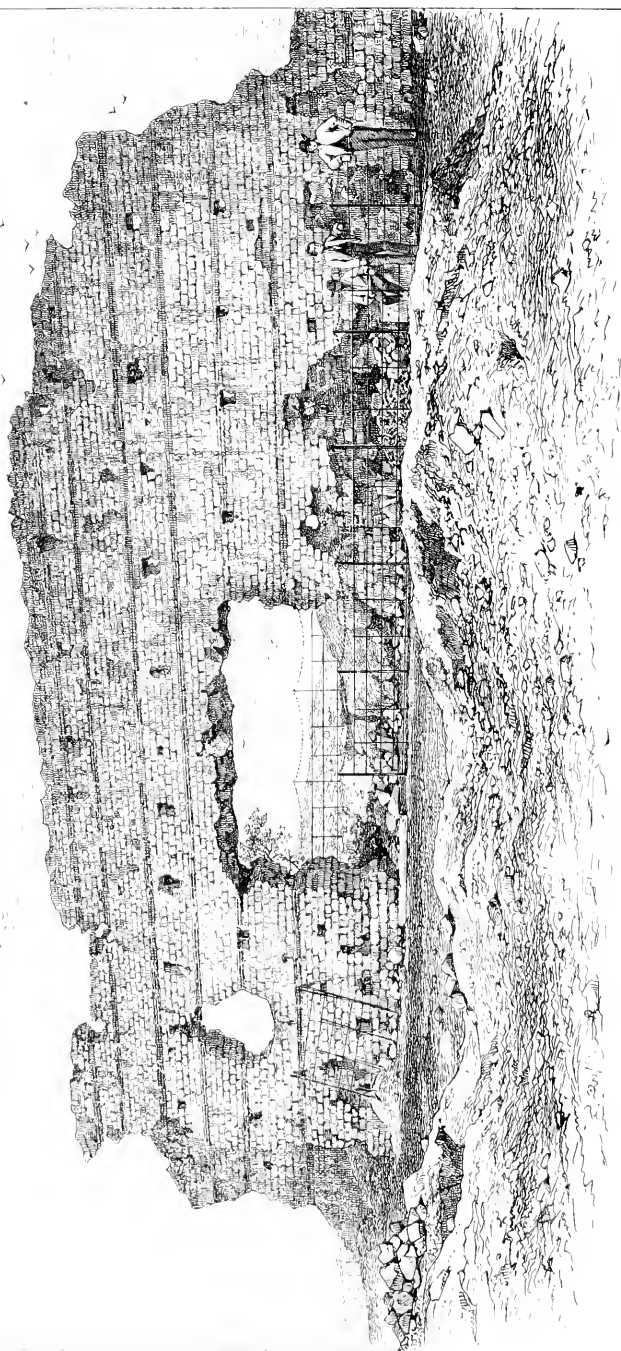
¹ This, perhaps, is the best place to mention another rather singular error of some of our older antiquaries. When the town was set on fire and abandoned, a great mass of burning material naturally fell on the floors, and formed a layer. This was, in the course of ages, covered with an accumulation of earth, until at length people began to break up the walls for the sake of the materials, and then a great quantity of other matter, black from burning, was thrown to the ground, and formed a second layer, which has since been covered over with earth. The writer of an account of discoveries made accidentally at Wroxeter in the last century, observing these two layers of materials, came to the rather singular conclusion that Uriconium had been burnt twice over. A very little reflection must shew the fallacy of such a deduction, which, nevertheless, has been frequently repeated. A house having been burnt down, cannot be burnt down again until it has been rebuilt, and the rebuilding would of course remove the first layer of burnt material.

was taken, plundered, and burnt, by some of the numerous invaders of the Roman province, very probably Piets and Scots, about, or a little before, the middle of the fifth century. It appears to have stood in ruins until towards the twelfth century, when the walls began to be broken up to furnish materials for churches and castles, and for the numerous monastic houses in this neighbourhood. Legends are found connected with it; and there are more than one mediæval story of treasure-diggers on this site, but they are valuable only as shewing the condition of the ruins, and as illustrative of mediæval superstitions. It has been conjectured that the town was rebuilt after its destruction, and that it was occupied by the Saxons even as late as the ninth century; but such an opinion is, in my opinion, quite untenable, and is contradicted by all the discoveries which have been made. One or two objects of the Saxon period are said to have been found at Wroxeter; but it is probably a mistake, or they have come there accidentally.¹

The circuit of the walls of the Roman city may be traced without difficulty; and in some places the mound which, no doubt, covers their remains, forms quite a bold object as it runs across the fields. They form a very irregular oval, approaching to the north the hamlet of Norton, and passing through the southern outskirts of the village of Wroxeter, extending in circuit upwards of three miles. It seems to have been accompanied with a rather shallow fosse. On the southern side of the village of Wroxeter the wall appears to have made almost an angle, or rather to have had a sort of loop, on a higher bank which commands the river. This has been examined, and the remains of a square building were found, which may have been a tower. Immediately to the north of this the Watling-street road approaches the river; and I can hardly doubt that there must have been here a bridge in Roman times. To the north of this, again, the ground rises, forming for some distance a steep bank down to the river. The site of Uriconium rises eastwardly from

¹ In Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* (vol. ii, p. 58), we find a charter of Burgred, king of Mercia, made in 855, "at the place called Oswaldesdun, when the Danes were in Wreocensetun" ("in loco qui vocatur Osuualdesdun, quando fuerunt pagani in Wreocensetun"). Wreocensetun has been supposed to be Uriconium; but it is much more probably a term applied generally to the district of the Wrekin,—in Wreocen-sætum, in the country of the Wrekin-dwellers; as we have the Sunner-sætas, the Dor-sætas, etc.





From a Photograph.

Northern side of the Old Wall, Wroxeter.

J.R. Jobbins.

the side of the river, until about the middle of the town it becomes tolerably high ground. It sinks down towards the north to a small stream called the Bell Brook, which must always have held its present course, and have been included in the town, as it runs along the intersection of two banks. On the high ground in the middle of the ancient town, but not quite at the top, in a large field between the Watling-street road and another road which intersects it, stands an imposing mass of Roman wall, about twenty-one feet high, and seventy-two feet long. This wall, which has long been known as the Old Wall, runs in a line deviating a little from east and west. Its northern face, which is represented in our engraving (plate 15), has all the appearance of having been the outside of a building; while the southern side presents the springing of vaulted ceilings of rooms, and must therefore have been an interior face of wall.¹

This is the only piece of Roman masonry that has, within knowledge, stood above ground; but on several occasions remains of Roman buildings have been discovered underground. One of the hypocausts now excavated appears to have been uncovered at the beginning of the last century, for Baxter, whose *Antiquitates Britannicæ* was published in 1733, founds upon this circumstance his opinion that the building to which the Old Wall belonged was a bath. In 1701, a Mr. Bennett, who was then a tenant at Wroxeter, observing that a spot in a field to the north of the Old Wall was unusually sterile, set some of his men to dig it, and found the foundations of walls, which he took up for the materials. In pursuing these walls they discovered a hypocaust with a tessellated pavement in good preservation.² A square, tessellated pavement was found in 1706. In 1788, the smith's shop which stands at the crossing of roads near the Old Wall, was accidentally burnt; and, as has been the the custom at Wroxeter from time immemorial, the farmer

¹ Horsley (*Britannia Romana*, p. 419, book iii, ch. 2) imagined that this wall was part of the prætorium. Others have supposed it to belong to a basilica; others to a temple. The recent excavations have proved that none of these guesses were correct; and they shew us the little value of conjectural explanations in general. Among other conjectures, the Old Wall has been supposed to have been part of public granaries and of public baths.

² An account of this pavement, with engravings, will be found in the twenty-fifth volume of the *Philosophical Transactions*. The remains uncovered in 1788 are described in the ninth volume of the *Archæologia*.

who was then tenant of the land dug in a neighbouring field to find building materials, and rooms and floors of houses were thus brought to light. A room with a semicircular end and a rather handsome tessellated pavement, was found in 1734. Another pavement was discovered, close to the village, in 1827. In 1855, when the present tenant of the larger portion of the site of Uriconium, Mr. Stanier, was digging foundations for some farm buildings in the field separated from that in which the Old Wall stands by the Watling-street road, the workmen discovered four square bases with short stone columns standing upon them, in a line, at intervals of nine feet; so that they had evidently formed the front of some building which looked upon the principal street. The excavation was not continued; but the bases and columns were taken up and carried into Mr. Stanier's garden, where some of them may still be seen.

These are all the discoveries recorded to have been made on the site of Uriconium; but no attempt at a systematic exploration had been made previous to the present year, when Beriah Botfield, esq., M.P., as president of the Shropshire and North Wales Natural History and Antiquarian Society, made a proposal for this purpose, and headed the list of subscribers with the liberal donation of fifty guineas. The excavations were commenced on the 3rd of February 1859, and have been carried on with only one interruption (in the month of April) to the present time.

For several reasons the vicinity of the Old Wall was chosen as the place for commencing operations. It was nearly the centre of the city, and almost the highest ground, so that the most important buildings might be supposed to have stood there. But there was a question of still greater importance. The ruins might have been so entirely cleared away for building materials as to leave hardly any remains of masonry under ground; and on this point the great height of the Old Wall above ground, and its general appearance, were not particularly encouraging; for it is evident that it depended on the depth to which the floors were covered by the accumulation of earth when the walls began to be broken away. It was desirable, therefore, to ascertain at what depth below the present surface the ancient floors lay; and this could not be done more effectually than by digging to the foundation of the Old Wall. About the

middle of this mass of masonry, as will be seen in our engraving (plate 15), there is a large breach, which seems to have been caused, in the first place, by the tearing away of the masonry for building materials; but it is very probable that there was originally a doorway here, and that the large stones of which it was formed held out a temptation to the depredators. A pit was sunk against this wall, on its northern or outer side, and just to the left of the aperture; and it was not without some surprise that the men found themselves obliged to dig fourteen feet below the present surface of the ground before they came to the bottom of it. For about two-thirds of this depth it was built in the understratum of sand which forms a geological feature of the locality, so that the wall must have had a very deep foundation. On the original level of the ground the excavators found a large capital of a column, ornamented only with plain bands, and lying in a reversed position, as though it had fallen from above. But architectural fragments of this sort are found scattered about in such a manner that it would not be safe to assume that it formed one of the columns belonging to an entrance at this spot. A trench was next carried to the northward from the wall, and brought the excavators to a pavement formed of small bricks, three inches long by one wide, set in what is commonly called herring-bone pattern, and lying here about four feet under the surface of the ground.

In the sequel of these excavations it was discovered that the Old Wall itself was continued to the westward, the lower part of it being found under ground, and that there were three parallel walls to the north of it. The first of these was at a uniform distance of fourteen feet; the space between the second and third walls was exactly thirty feet; and the fourth wall was fourteen feet from the third at its western end, and sixteen at its eastern end, so that these walls were not accurately parallel. The length of these walls, from east to west, was about two hundred and twenty-six feet. The central enclosure, therefore, contained a space two hundred and twenty-six feet long by thirty feet wide, and had two equally long but comparatively narrow spaces on each side. The southernmost of these appeared to have been an open alley; and there can be no doubt that the northern face of the Old Wall, which formed one side of this alley, was the

outside of a building. The sort of brick pavement which formed the floor of the inner enclosure is generally found in courts and places open to the sky; and the very extent of the enclosure in this case, would lead us to suspect that it was not roofed. At the eastern, or widest, end of the narrow enclosure to the north, a rather elegant tessellated pavement was found, which seemed to indicate, there at least, a covered room. No doorway was found communicating between these several enclosures; but as the walls of separation were in several places entirely broken away to the foundations, there may have been doorways in these breaches. In the middle of the more northern wall there was a very wide breach, which in all probability was the site of a principal entrance; for it was afterwards discovered that this wall formed the side of a wide street, the central pavement of which, composed of small round stones, was found at a distance of a few feet to the north of the wall. At the western end also of this middle apartment, openings and plinths of stone were found, which seemed to indicate not only an entrance, but a considerable amount of architectural ornamentation. This end came near to the hedge of the field, and abutted upon what is now called the Watling-street road, and was, no doubt, a principal street of the town; so that we are evidently here at the corner of two streets crossing at right angles. The only objects found in excavating these enclosures, calculated to throw the slightest light on their original object, were a portion (two or three links) of a rather ponderous iron chain; a small trident of iron, which had evidently been fixed on the end of a staff (perhaps an ensign of office); and the steel head of an axe. The continuation of the northern wall was traced eastward until the excavation was stopped by the opposite hedge of the field, making a whole length of about four hundred feet. A doorway, approached by a stone step, led through the wall forming the eastern end of the great central enclosure, into what had the appearance of having been a quadrangular yard, or court, built a little out of square, and measuring about sixty-six feet from north to south, and about thirty from east to west.¹ Beyond this was a much larger enclosed space, which was trenched across in several directions; but no floor or trans-

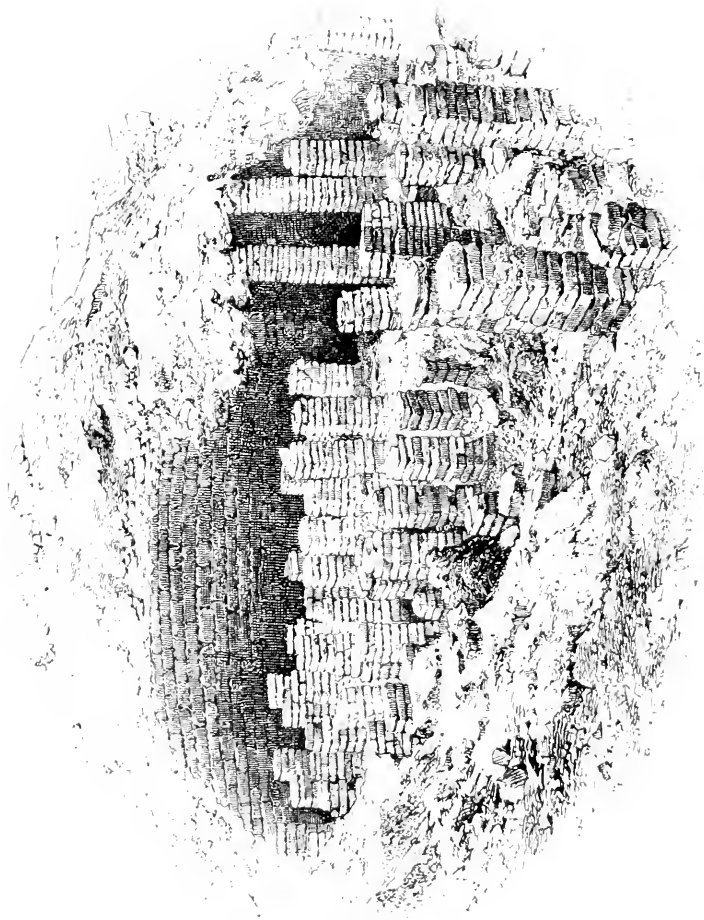
¹ Our plan of the excavations is reserved for a future number of the *Journal*, when we shall be able to give it in a much more complete form.

verse walls were found, and it has been conjectured that it may have been a garden.

The excavations which produced these discoveries were all carried on to the north of the Old Wall, and have been since filled up for the convenience of the farmer. I have observed that the northern face of the Old Wall presented all the appearance of being the exterior of a building; and this had evidently been the case with its continuation westward, in which, at a rather considerable interval from each other, were found two openings for doors, each approached from the narrow passage by a step composed of one large squared stone. The step to the westward was very much worn by the action of people's feet, and must, therefore, have been much frequented; but this was not the case with the other. It was at this latter opening that the excavators began to explore the ground to the south of the Old Wall. Trenches were dug in several directions, one of which, carried directly to the south, brought the excavators to the outside of the semicircular end of a large apartment about forty feet long by perhaps thirty wide (for it has not been quite cleared out from wall to wall). The intermediate space appeared to have formed a yard, or yards; and from the number of human remains found here it is evident that, at the time of the destruction of Uriconium, many of the inhabitants had sought shelter here and in the adjoining buildings, and had been pursued and massacred. In the south-eastern corner, under what appears to have been an opening from an apartment above, lay the bones of a very small child,—probably, from the appearance of the skull, an infant in the arms,—which had perhaps been murdered and thrown down from the room above. The semicircular wall just mentioned presented a mass of very good masonry, and was partly covered with plaster or stucco, which had been worked to a smooth surface, and painted with stripes of red and yellow. It thus appears that the Romans in this country painted the outsides of their houses in fresco, as well as the interiors. Near the wall lay a very ponderous stone, squared into the form of part of the arc of a circle, which had evidently formed one of a layer of such stones at some unknown elevation in the semicircular wall. A piece of iron still remains soldered into it with lead; but for what purpose it would be in vain to conjecture.

Our view of a portion of the interior of the hypocaust (pl. 16), taken from the s.s.w.—that is, looking towards the semicircular end—represents it as it appeared when it was first opened.¹ The supporting columns were formed of square, flat bricks placed one upon another without mortar, and most of them standing to their original height of a little more than three feet. The floor had been all broken up, and only pieces of the concrete of which it had been composed were found scattered about. In the north-eastern corner only, a piece of the floor was found in its original position, supported by two or three columns. The concrete was eight inches thick, and appears to have had merely a smoothed surface without any kind of pavement. About the middle of this room there was a sort of passage across, from west to east, opposite which, on the eastern side, was a doorway which led into the similar hypocaust of a large room adjoining this room to the east. The columns in this second hypocaust were much more dilapidated than in the first, but some of them were found supporting a portion of the floor in the south-west corner; and it appeared that this was at the same height as the floor of the other room, and that it was similarly formed of a bed of smoothed concrete. On the northern side of this second room, where the wall remained to a height of nine or ten feet, there was a larger doorway, with an arch turned with large, flat Roman bricks. It was approached from without by a staircase of three large steps, each composed of a single stone, descending from a small, square apartment which was approached from the north. Opposite the staircase, and looking upon the outside of the semicircular apartment, there appears to have been an opening in the wall, but for what purpose is not apparent. It was under this opening that the skeleton of the child was found. When the staircase was first uncovered, it was blocked up by the shaft of a column which lay across it as though it had fallen from above. The side of the platform at the bottom of the staircase opposite the

¹ During the period that the excavators were excluded from the field by the tenant, the columns of this hypocaust were nearly all thrown down, and a great part of the bricks of which they were composed were broken. Even the piece of floor at the north-eastern corner was broken down with the rest. Dr. Johnson has succeeded in restoring the latter, after drawings which had been made of it when it was first discovered; and he has very skillfully rebuilt the columns as far as he could find unbroken bricks for the purpose.



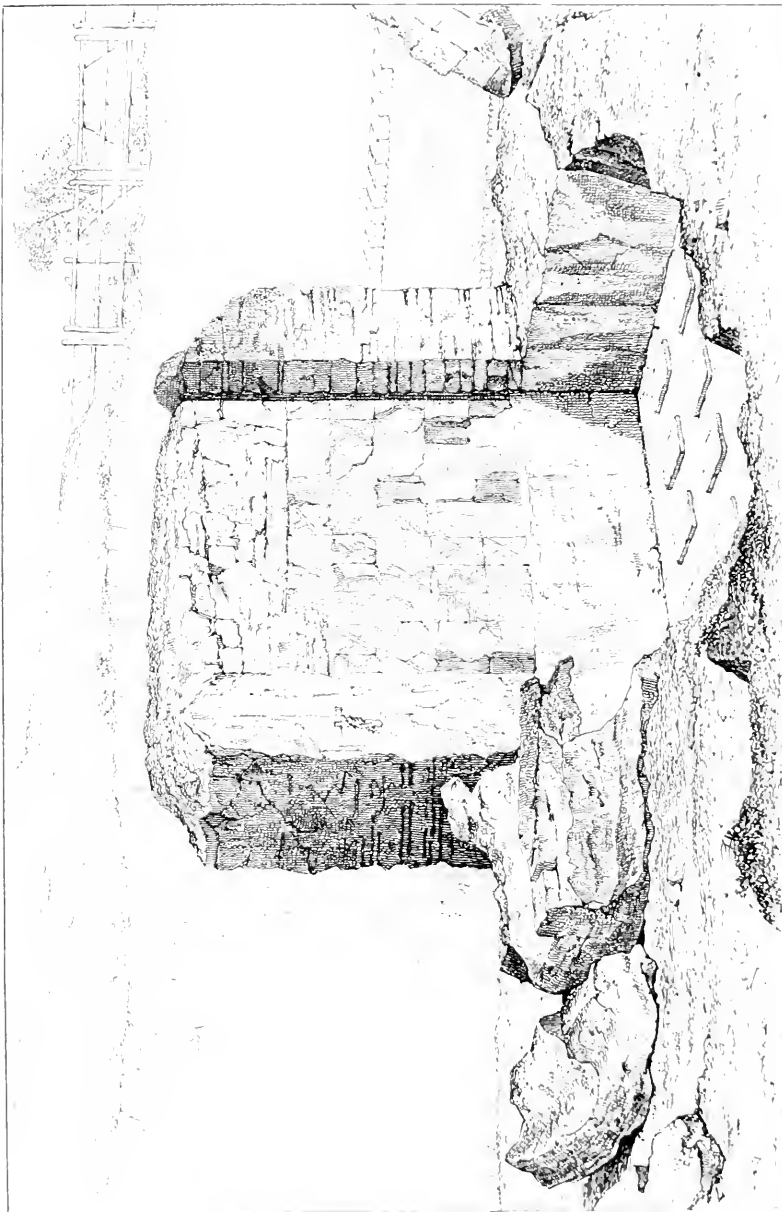
Hypocaust in the Ruins of Uricomum, Worcester.

archway to the hypocaust appeared as though, at the close of the Roman period, it had been used as a receptacle for rubbish,—such as the sweeping of floors might produce,—for the earth, as each spadeful was taken up, was found to be filled with Roman coins, hair-pins, and personal ornaments; buttons, nails, broken pottery, and glass; bones of birds and other edible animals, and a variety of other objects, which were carefully collected, and have been placed in the museum in Shrewsbury.

Immediately to the north of this staircase is a rectangular chamber about twelve feet square, with a herring-bone pavement formed of small bricks, exactly like that in the larger enclosure to the north of the Old Wall. This and the staircase room form together the breadth (west to east) of the second room with the hypocaust. The eastern side of the square room with the herring-bone pavement just mentioned, seems to have been open in nearly its whole width, communicating with a larger apartment running north and south along the side of the second hypocaust. This room, which has also a hypocaust, has, like all the rooms in this part, except the first room with the hypocaust, not yet been cleared out to its southern end; partly on account of the great accumulation of the earth thrown up from the excavations. The northern parts of the rooms only are laid open. Another room with a hypocaust adjoins the room just mentioned to the east. It was in this last hypocaust that the three skeletons already mentioned were found. The old man had died crouched up in the north-western corner; while the two other persons lay by the side of the northern wall. The opening into this hypocaust appears to have been at its southern extremity, so that the fugitives must have crept along the whole length of the hypocaust to reach their place of concealment. From the northern end of this hypocaust a series of passages runs still eastward; in one of which, at a distance of a few feet from the last hypocaust, is a square pit, somewhat like a cesspool, across the bottom of which a drain runs north and south, built in very good masonry, and evidently intended to carry off water. The channel of this drain is formed of roof-tiles with the flanged edges turned upwards, and a considerable quantity of the large, flat Roman tiles are employed in the masonry of the square pit. To the south of these passages are other rooms

with hypocausts, partly opened, and the passages terminate in the last of the hypocausts towards the east. In this last mentioned hypocaust were found the portions of two other skeletons, which appeared, from an examination of what remained of the bones, to have been those of young persons, though not enough was left to enable us to say positively that they were those of females. The terrified inhabitants of Uriconium seem, in the catastrophe under which it fell, to have been driven by a very general impulse to seek concealment in the hypocausts, where, though effectually hidden from their enemies, they were probably stifled by either the remains of the hot air from the firing which warmed the houses, or by the effects of the conflagration of the latter. It would be somewhat equivalent to people in modern houses seeking refuge in the chimneys.

The end of this hypocaust which has been excavated, and is nearly opposite the eastern extremity of the Old Wall, and its northern wall, are shewn in our view (pl. 17) taken from the south-west. The bases of the columns of this hypocaust alone remain, the columns themselves having by some cause or other been cleared away. The floor has been of smoothed concrete, which also appears to have been the material of the floors of the passages leading to it. But the most interesting feature of this hypocaust is the manner in which the surface of the northern wall above the floor is covered with the remains and impressions of the flue-tiles which carried the hot air from the hypocaust through the room. We had hitherto found few, if any, traces of these flue-tiles in position, though many of them were found broken and scattered about; but here they had run up in rows close together, as will be seen in our sketch. A few of the backs of the broken flue-tiles are found still attached to the walls, the surface of which is, as will be seen, covered with the impressions of the surfaces of others, which were usually striated in various patterns to give them a firmer hold on the mortar. This great accumulation of flue-tiles must have been intended for giving a greater degree of heat than usual to this room. The western end of this wall is squared off to the passages, forming the side of a cross passage, and at the foot it has a kind of base formed of large stones hollowed or scooped out in a very remarkable manner, which appear to have joined in with the concrete of the floor as though they had formed the side of a channel



William Paves del.

Remains of Buildings opposite the East End of the Old Wall, Wroxeter

J.K. del.

for water; but it is not easy to imagine what was their real object. These stones are represented in the engraving. On the eastern side, the room with the hypocaust communicated, as may be seen also in the engraving, by a wide opening or doorway with another square room paved in herring-bone pattern, closely resembling in dimensions and character the one adjoining the staircase. This room, the back of which is close to the line of hurdles which form the eastern boundary of the two acres of land now in possession of the excavations' committee,¹ evidently projected beyond the wall which formed the eastern side of the great building we have been exploring, and which has been traced to a considerable distance towards the south.

The passages just described lie parallel to the Old Wall, at a distance of about forty feet to the south. The surface of the Old Wall on this side presents unmistakable evidence of having been the interior of a building; the startings of transverse walls and of the vaulted roofs (of the description termed barrel-roofs) of three distinct rooms being perfectly visible. A series of rooms, therefore, extended from the Old Wall to the eastern part of the buildings I have just been describing. A slight excavation only has been made into these rooms, but sufficient to shew that the floors and the lower parts of the walls still exist. In one of them a quantity of charred wheat was found, which would seem to shew that that room at least was a storehouse of grain.

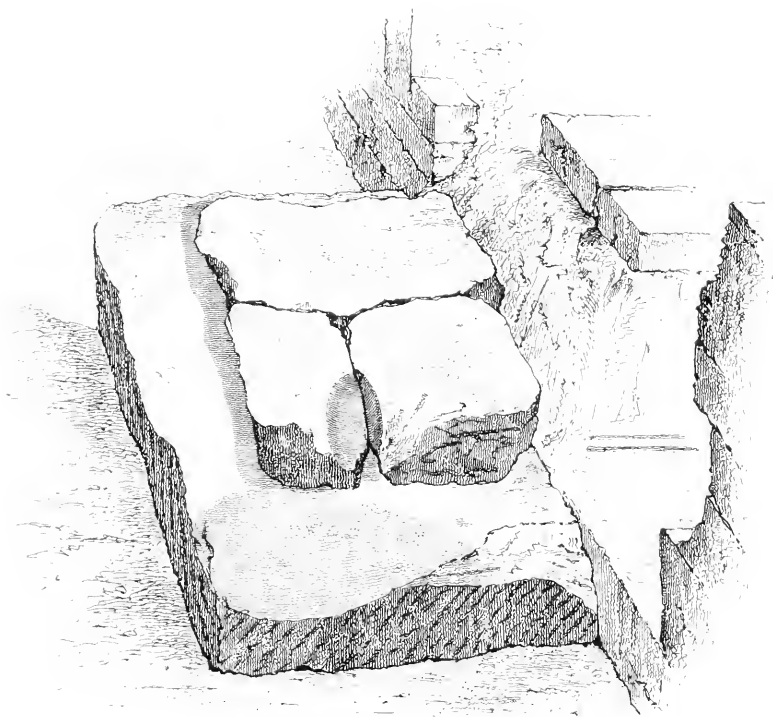
We will now return to the western end of the great building to the north of the Old Wall, which, as it has been stated, evidently bordered upon a principal street identical in position with this part of the Watling-street road. The ground immediately to the south, between the hypocaust first opened and the street, has not yet been excavated: but an excavation made near the hedge of the road, at a distance of about a hundred feet from the continuation of the Old Wall, brought to light a wall running north and south, nearly in a line with the street front of the great building to the north, and presenting sufficient evidence of having formed also part of the side of this street. In this wall there were two entrances, leading into a quadrangular court above forty feet square, the latter paved with the same herring-bone

¹ The boundary hurdles are shewn in the back of the view, with the distant summit of the Wrekin rising behind them.

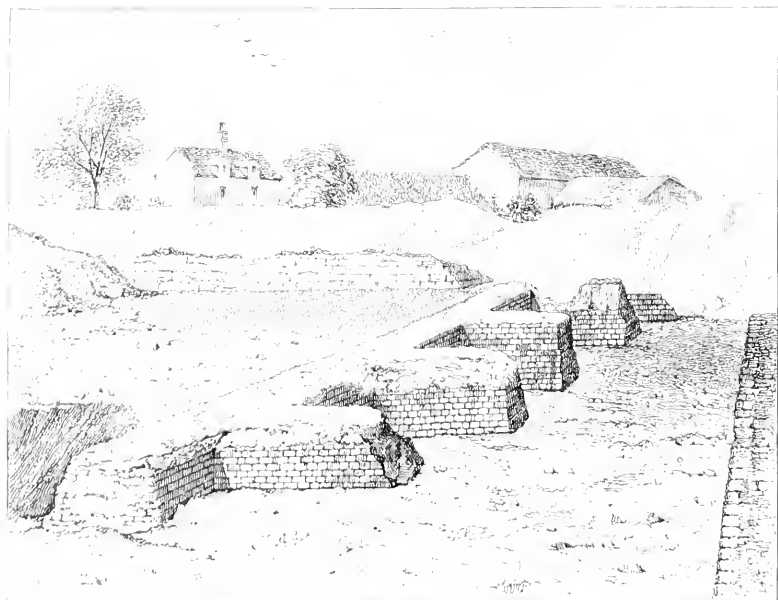
pavement which we have had to mention so often before. A view of this entrance, from the outside, is given in our engraving (pl. 18). The pavement of the court was at an elevation of two or three feet above the level of the street ; and this entrance, which was twelve feet wide, and close to the northern interior wall of the court, was approached by an inclined plane, the central part of which was formed by three great blocks of squared stone, and the rest apparently of smoothed concrete. These stones, which are represented in the engraving as they now lie, were, when uncovered, in their original sloping position, as forming part of the inclined plane. This entrance would thus appear, from the character of the approach, to have been intended for horses, and perhaps for carts ; and this supposition seems confirmed by the circumstances that the pavement on this side had evidently been much damaged and repaired in Roman times, and that the portion of an iron horse-shoe was found upon it. Our engraving shows also a series of square rooms, which formed the northern side of the court. They are each about twelve feet square, and the one nearest the street, shown in front of our view, which is the only one that has been cleared out, was found to be no less than ten feet deep, with a low cross wall at the bottom. In it was found a quantity of unburnt charcoal, with some remains of mineral coal. The southern side of the court is formed by a similar series of square rooms, of which there are four on each side of the court, but they have not yet been excavated. In two of these rooms, one on the north, the other on the south, great quantities of bones of various animals and stags' horns have been found ; and, as many of these had been cut and sawed, it has been suggested that they may have been the stores of some one of the manufacturers of the objects made of bone which are found so numerous among the ruins of Uriconium, and that all these square chambers were dépôts of materials for sale. This conjecture appears to receive some confirmation from the circumstance that a number of undoubted weights have been picked up in the court, which would seem to show that articles of some kind had been delivered out by measure.

There is another curious circumstance connected with this court. I have stated that there were two entrances, of which the larger one, already described, was on the northern





Worn Steps and smaller Entrance to the Quadrangular Court.



Inclosure at the back of the Court.

side. The other entrance was on the southern side of the court, and was no doubt intended for people on foot. It was only five feet wide, and was approached from without by two steps, the appearance of which will be best understood by the sketch given in the upper compartment of the accompanying engraving (pl. 19). One corner of the stone forming the lower step is quite worn off, and the stone of the upper step was so much worn and hollowed by the same cause, the feet of those who walked over it, that it broke into three pieces when the excavator attempted to raise it. There is also, on the side of this upper stone which is most worn, and which corresponds to the worn corner of the lower stone, a deep hollow, in the form of a man's foot, which looks as if it had been scooped out intentionally, for it can hardly have been worn into this form by people treading upon it. One thing seems quite evident, that this quadrangular court must have been visited by a great number of people on foot, and that the concourse of visitors came up the street from the south.

The back of the court was supposed, from the appearance it first presented, to have been a sort of long gallery, or crypto-porticus; but it has since been completely cleared out, and has presented an unexpected appearance. It extends the whole length of the court and its side rooms, and is divided into five compartments by transverse walls running from the wall on the side of the court, about half way across the space between it and the opposite wall. A passage is thus left, which runs not only along the whole extent of this building, but appears to extend beyond it to the north. The floor of this part of the building is about two feet below the level of the pavement of the court, from which steps appear to have descended at the south-eastern corners into a square recess, paved in herring-bone pattern like that of the court, and opening into the passage already mentioned, which seems to have been paved only with concrete. A view of this part of the building, taken from its southern end, is given in the lower part of our engraving (pl. 19), and will afford the reader a better notion of it than any description. In the eastern wall, opposite the first compartment from the south, a door was found in the wall, which led into what appeared to have been an alley or little street behind, running north towards the line of the old wall,

for a trench carried eastward from the door just mentioned brought the excavators, at a distance of about twelve feet, to a strong parallel wall, which I am inclined to think is the western boundary of the extensive building containing so many hypocausts. I must confess that, to me, these recesses in the long gallery at the back of the court look very much like shops or stalls;¹ and I am inclined to suspect that this quadrangular building has been a market of some sort. The buildings along the side of the street to the north of it, which have been ascertained by probing to exist under ground, will probably, when uncovered, throw further light on this question. It will be remembered that there was a doorway leading to them from the southern passage of the great building to the north of the Old Wall, the step of which was very much worn by the feet. I think it probable, too, that these buildings bordering on the street are quite distinct from that containing the hypocausts.

Some further light has been thrown on the latter by the trenches commenced at the door in the eastern wall of the quadrangle, which has been carried eastwardly to the extremity of the ground now occupied by the committee. As stated above, the excavators came first to a strong wall running north and south. Within this wall was, first, a low narrow passage parallel to it; and then a raised floor of concrete, extending four or five feet, when it suddenly sank, with a ledge on one side, to a depth of four feet, at which a floor of large flagstones was found, of considerable extent; at the further side of which the ground again rose abruptly to a floor of cement similar to the former. This low, flagged floor was covered with black earth mixed with broken pottery and other objects likely to have been thrown into a pond, and has very probably been a reservoir of water. The floor of cement was continued eastwardly till it was bounded by massive walls, having a large square projecting room,

¹ It is curious that on the floor of one of these recesses at the northern part of this gallery, the excavators found a small cylindrical coffer or box, about the diameter of an ordinary tumbler glass, made of iron or steel, and supported upon three short legs. The lid was upon it; and the decomposition of the metal has caused it to be in a manner hermetically sealed. An accidental blow of the excavator's pick has made a little breach in the upper rim, which exposes in the interior a mass of decomposed wood, apparently of an uncommon and delicate kind; in the middle of which there is evidently some metal instrument which has almost the appearance of burnished silver, but its real character cannot be ascertained without breaking up the box.

the internal character of which has not yet been ascertained, and nearly opposite the western end of the Old Wall. The cement floor continued inside this wall until it sank, at a short distance from the wall, to a floor three feet deep, formed very neatly of flat Roman tiles eighteen inches long by twelve inches broad. This floor, which is ten feet wide from east to west, by thirty feet long, has been entirely uncovered, and has every appearance of having been the bottom of a tank of water, which might have been used for a swimming bath. The cement floor was continued eastwardly until it reached the continuation of the wall, which I have already mentioned as forming apparently the eastward boundary of this building.

I have thus given a brief description of all the buildings of the city of Uriconium which have as yet (August 1859) been brought to light by these excavations. They already shew us what may be done by a continuous research, instead of digging here and there at hap-hazarp. We have evidently been hitherto uncovering a mass of buildings of a more or less public character. It would be in vain, in our present very limited knowledge of the plan of the city, even to offer a conjecture on the object of the extensive building to the north of the Old Wall. This Old Wall seems to have formed the boundary of a great mass of buildings which consisted, east and west, on the northern side, of a series of rooms; some of them of large dimensions, provided with hypocausts; and north and south, on the eastern side, of large spaces enclosed within walls, in which there appears to have been a cold water bath. Within these buildings there seems, to judge by the discoveries hitherto made, to have been a very extensive, open court paved with concrete, having in the middle a large reservoir of water. The whole appears to have been bounded, westwardly, by a wall running north and south immediately behind the quadrangle which bordered on the street. It is quite uncertain at present how far it extended to the south. From the appearance of the hypocausts on the northern side of this building, we are led to conclude that the entrances to them are on the southern side, and that they all ended in a line of wall forming the northern side of this great court. It is a remarkable circumstance that no tessellated pavements have been found in this building, in spite of the number of hypocausts, the floors of

which appear to have been all of mere smoothed cement. This circumstance, combined with the general distribution of the buildings, leads me to think that this building may have been a public establishment of baths. I am told that water is obtained very easily in the field above, which is the highest part of Uriconium, and some feet higher than the site of the Old Wall, and the reservoirs would easily be filled from thence. The drain described above seemed to have been intended to carry away down the slope towards the Bell Brook, or into some larger sewer, the superfluous water.

The quadrangle, with the buildings on the north and south, may, as I have already suggested, have been also buildings of a more or less public character; that is, they may have been public markets, or assemblages of private shops. On this question further excavations will throw more light. The men are at present (August 1859) beginning to excavate the ground to the south of the quadrangle, and they appear already to have ascertained that, at some distance in this direction, there is another transverse street running eastward from that of the Watling-street road. The building containing the supposed public baths may have extended to this street, or its boundary may have run (which seems not improbable) near the southern side of the quadrangle already excavated, so as to leave a space between it and the newly discovered street for buildings of a more private character.

(To be continued.)

ON CELTIC ANTIQUITIES EXHUMED IN LINCOLNSHIRE AND DORSETSHIRE.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

THE time is not distant when any one would have been regarded as a bold and ignorant visionary who should dare to combat the popular notion that our Celtic forefathers were no better than unclad savages, subsisting on wild fruits and reptiles, dwelling in caves and earth-holes, lacking all mental culture—all mechanic skill—artless as they were houseless. Happily, however, that time has passed away, and the misrepresented Celt now finds advocates among those who formerly would have ranked him in the lowest depths of social barbarism. This forms one of the encouraging results of the labours of our Association. We have broken through old prejudices, put to flight the accumulated clouds of error, and built up, even upon the wreck and ruins of fancy and erroneous conception, a superstructure rendered impregnable by its truth. Session after session, objects have been produced before us which display the knowledge possessed by the *Britannic* *Celtæ*. Their implements and ornaments in bronze, gold, glass, and stone, attest not only their chemic, metallurgic, and lapidistic skill, but further prove that their craftsmen were not inferior to those of other nations of antiquity; and that, possessed of invention, taste, and refinement, they need not fear a comparison with that coexisting in the seat and centre of civilization—the metropolis of the *Cæsars*.

This view of Celtic genius receives additional and important support from a few beautiful relics brought to our notice by Dr. James Kendrick of Warrington, and Mr. H. Durden of Blandford, discovered within a few years past in the counties of Lincoln and Dorset, the regions of the *Coritani* and *Durotriges*, or *Morini*, as the latter were sometimes denominated.

The specimens sent for exhibition by Dr. Kendrick were exhumed from a depth of four or five feet below the surface by a labourer employed on a railway cutting, about twelve

years since. The exact spot of the discovery is, however, not made public, lest the objects should be claimed as "treasure trove." They consist of three torchs, a portion of a bracelet, and the remains of horse-furniture, all of admirable construction and considerable finish. The torchs are of different fashions, having been probably designed for different grades of chieftains; for it is clear from the statements of ancient writers that neck-collars were worn by those of various degrees of rank, from the *brenin* and *pen* down to the *arglwydd*. Boadicea is described by Dion Cassius as wearing a golden torch. The bard Llywarch Hên says—

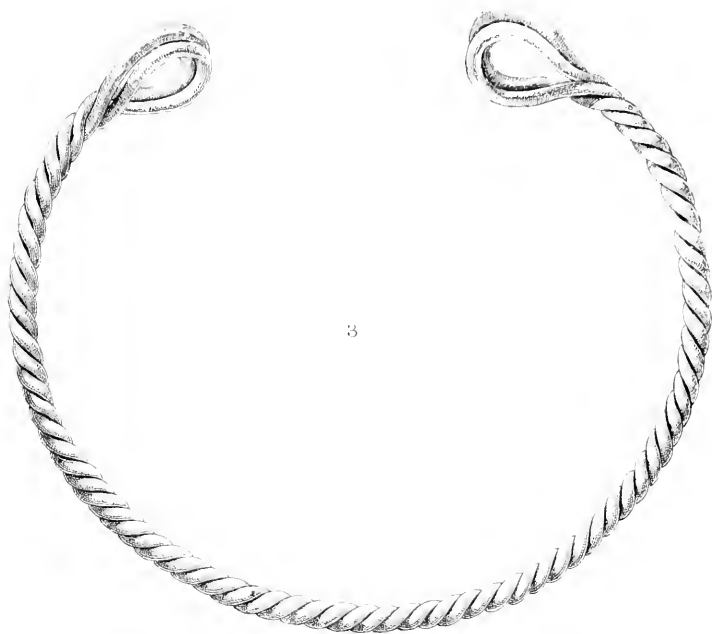
"Four-and-twenty sons I have had
Wearing the golden wreath, leaders of armies";

and Llewellyn, who was merely lord of Yale, obtained the sobriquet of "*am Torchog*", from the golden collar which encircled his neck.

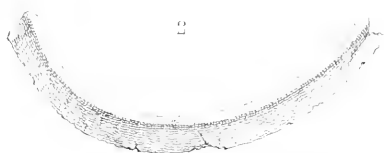
The first of the Lincoln specimens (see plate 20, fig. 1) is formed of a stout electrum wire, bent round, and twisted into long folds, leaving a large loop at the ends. In its present fractured state it only measures between nine and ten inches in length; but full half of the torch has been broken off, and is lost,—its destruction being brought about by a lady, who snapped it in pieces for distribution among her friends!

The second specimen (fig. 2) is an example of what is known as the funicular torch. It is of pale gold, *i.e.* gold greatly alloyed with silver; and is composed of two stout wires, doubled and twisted together like a rope, and so arranged as to leave a duplex loop at each end. It measures about fourteen inches in length, and weighs 3 oz., 8 dwts. 12 grs. It is in the highest state of preservation, and calls to our remembrance the brazen collars found on the Polden and Quantock hills in Somersetshire.

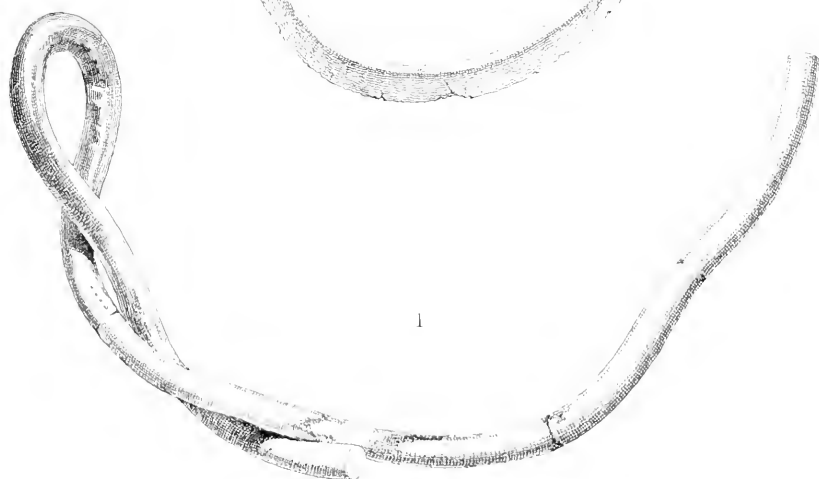
The third torch (represented on plate 21) is formed of four stout wires of pale gold, bent double, and plaited together in a most extraordinary and ingenious manner, so as to produce a chain or cable-like wreath, with quadruple circular loops at the ends. It is nearly seventeen inches in length; weighs 7 oz., 7 dwts., 4 grs.; and is as perfect as if it had but just left the hands of the ancient *feryllt*. It is, without question, one of the most curious and beautiful torchs in



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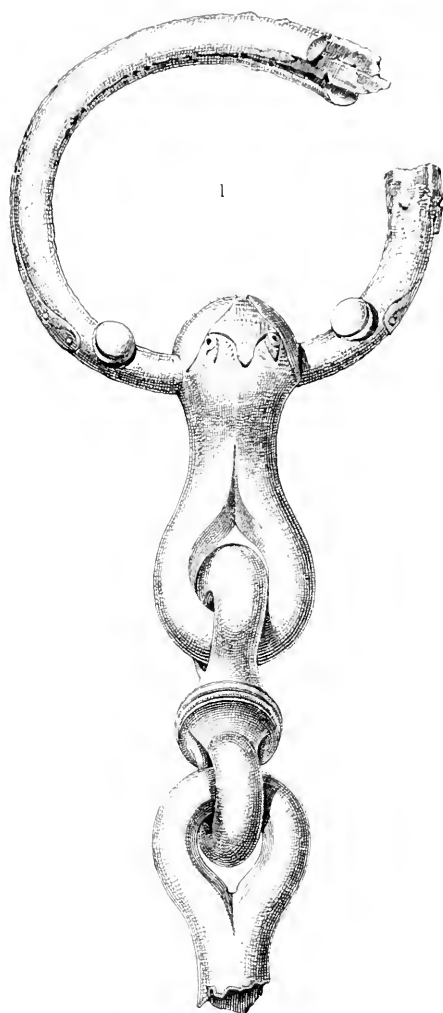
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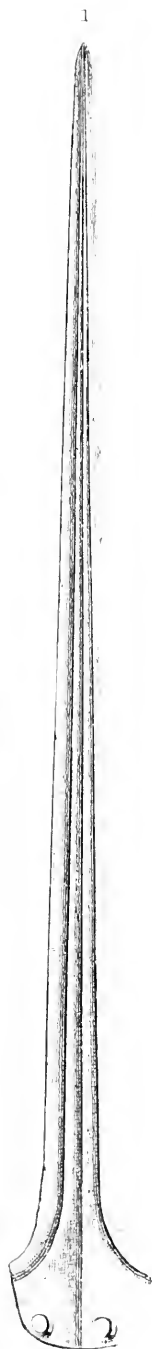


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existence, and is of a type of the greatest rarity; if, indeed, it be not unique.

The fragment of the *breichled*, or bracelet (pl. 20, fig. 3), is of the plainest description,—a simple, flat-sided circlet of electrum nearly three-eighths of an inch wide,—similar to many examples discovered in Ireland, but of a form rarely met with in this country. This *breichled*, like the first mentioned torch, was perfect when found, but is now much mutilated.

The remains of horse-furniture found with the above mentioned magnificent relics consist of portions of three snaffle-bits, formed of stout branches united by a double link, with large rings passing through the bulbous ends of the branches, to which the *afwyn*, *ffwryn*, or bridle, was attached. Two of these are exactly alike (pl. 22, fig. 1); and imagination may, perhaps, be permitted to figure them as having formerly belonged to a pair of steeds which drew the *ess*, or war-car, of some mighty *pendragon*,—an idea receiving countenance from the fact of their similitude to the bits discovered in the grave of the charioteer on the wolds of Yorkshire. The ends of the branches are decorated with florulent scrolls in relief, upon a mat field; whilst the outer surface of each ring has a boss on each side of the branch, and the edge is ornamented with a raised line terminating in paddle-ends filled with scrolls; which may be compared to the ornamentation on the famous *ysgryd*, or oblong shield, in the Meyrick collection; and which, it must be remembered, was also discovered in Lincolnshire, in the bed of the river Witham.

The third specimen (fig. 2) is only the ring and bulbous end of one of the branches of the *genfa*, or bit; but is evidently a portion of a much finer example than the others. The prominent scroll-pattern on the bulb is free and elegant; and the bosses, instead of being only smooth knobs, are embellished with a central bead surrounded by a circlet of others; and the terminations of the line round the edge are composed of graceful scrolls somewhat like those seen in the tattooed faces of the New Zealanders.

Though these bits are of massive and powerful construction, they were evidently made for a small breed of horses, such as we are told were employed by the battle hosts of Britain. Their material is a fine bronze, the rings having

iron cores, either for strength or economy. The art of covering one metal with another is of great antiquity among the Celtæ; and several examples of forged "ring-money" have been discovered in Ireland, in which the exterior is gold, whilst the centre is only brass.

These beautiful remains of horse-furniture so closely resemble examples exhumed in Yorkshire,¹ at Polden Hill,² and Stanwick,³ that they may without doubt be referred to the same æra; and the presence of iron within the bridlerings enables us to fix their date at, or towards the close of, the bronze or Celtic period.

From the antiquities of Lincolnshire we now proceed to some brazen arms found in Dorset. And here we may remark that the majority of the weapons and implements discovered within the territory of the *Durotriges* present some of the finest examples of Celtic cutlery to be met with. Look, for instance, at the beautiful dagger, with its hilt of polished ivory, obtained from a barrow on Roke Down (eight miles south-west from Blandford), and here reproduced from



11½ inches long.

our *Journal* (ii, p. 98); and refer also to the one found on the Came estate, near Dorchester, described in our third

volume, p. 50.

The first weapon to which Mr. Durden calls our attention is of equal, if not superior, finish to those referred to. (See plate 23, fig. 1.) It was ploughed up November 22, 1851, in front of, and about one hundred yards from, the principal entrance of one of the finest earthworks in Dorset, namely that of Badbury. Its length is twenty-three inches and a half, and it measures two inches and nine-sixteenths across the lower part of the blade, just above the rivets. By some this weapon has been supposed to be a dagger or short sword, *minus* the hilt; but it appears to me much like the blade of a *gwaew-fon*, *fônwayw*, or spear, the head of which was inserted into the divided end of an ash staff, and secured

¹ See York volume of the Archæological Institute, p. 29.

² See examples in the British Museum, and their description in *Archæologia*, xiv, p. 90.

³ See examples in the British Museum.

in its place by rivets. It is true the blades of the *guraer-fon* range from five to fifteen inches in length, whilst this specimen measures nearly two feet; and if it be a spear-blade, it is certainly one of the longest hitherto recorded to have been found in England. Mention is made in our *Journal* (v, 360) of a socketed spear-head obtained from the great fen at Upwell, Cambridgeshire, sixteen inches long; and in the same volume (p. 89) another is noticed, which was recovered from the Thames, near Datchet Bridge, in 1844, which measured twenty-two inches in length,—just an inch and a half shorter than our Dorset weapon. Wilson, in his *Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, figures a socketed spear-head, from Perthshire, nineteen inches long; and in Boöcke's collection, sold at Wellington-street in June 1857, there was a spear-head, stated to have been found in a bog at Ballyowan, near Comber, county Down, in 1830, which measured thirty-two inches, *i.e.* eight inches and a half in excess of the English blade; and this is, I believe, the longest bronze spear-head yet discovered, and may probably be an example of the British *llarnau*, or blade-weapon, the head of which is said to have been three feet, and the shaft only four feet in length. It is evident, from the examples here cited, that there is nothing in the dimensions of the Dorset weapon which invalidates the notion of its being a spear-blade; and such we must, therefore, consider it until some satisfactory proof to the contrary can be adduced.

The other specimens forwarded by Mr. Durden offer two examples of the *cleddyv*, or leaf-shaped sword. The pointless one (pl. 23, fig. 2) was found in a field at Cranbourne, in May 1855, and measures twenty-three inches in length. The broad, flat tang is drilled with six holes to admit the rivets employed in fixing its horn or ivory coverings, and differs in no respect from the hafts frequently met with in this country and Ireland.

The second *cleddyv* (plate 23, fig. 3) was exhumed by five labourers at Woodlands, in altering a water-course forming the boundary line of that parish and Gussage St. Michael, three miles south-west of Cranbourne. It is nearly two feet in length. The lower part of the tang is perforated with two round holes, and down its centre is an oblong, square aperture nearly one inch and five-eighths long, by about a quarter of an inch wide. This is a very peculiar

feature, and one seldom met with. We may, however, instance a sword in the British Museum, recovered from the Thames, which has a similar slit down the tang; and also an exceedingly fine one in the collection of Mr. Robert Fitch of Norwich. The latter *deddyv* was found in August 1846, by a labourer in digging in a sandpit at Wetheringsett in Suffolk, and is engraved in pl. 23, fig. 4. A few swords have been brought to light with fusi-formed apertures down their tangs; but these are yet more rare than those with the long, square-ended openings. A representation of one found in Alderney may be seen in our *Journal* (iii, 9); and another is given in plate 23, fig. 5), from a specimen submitted to our notice by sir S. Morton Peto, bart., discovered at Washingborough in Lincolnshire, a description of which is given in our *Journal* (xi, 263). Why these several tangs are thus ornamented, it is difficult to divine: they are certainly too thin to be employed without encasement; but how that encasement was secured, is not very apparent.

These are the relics we have received from Lincoln and Dorset. Though few in number, they yet abound in interest and importance, and may justly be classed among the finest examples of Celtic art that have been laid before us. They tell a tale of former days more palpably than all the learned disquisitions that have been penned; a tale that carries truth upon its wings, and against which no sophistry can raise a doubt, can cavil or gainsay. The sceptic, when contemplating these rich treasures, must feel convinced that the civilization of the ancient Celtæ is no fancied myth, but something which had a real existence, capable of demonstration, visible and tangible, and which may be grasped, as it were, in our palm, and held forth as an enduring witness of the pre-eminence of the Celtic tribes of Britain.

ON BRITISH ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERED IN LANCASHIRE,

AND DEPOSITED IN THE MUSEUM AT WARRINGTON.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

To Dr. Kendrick of Warrington we are indebted for the exhibition of stone and bronze antiquities forming a portion of the valuable collection of the Warrington museum, the trustees of which have most generously sanctioned their transmission to London for our inspection. These objects, with three exceptions, were discovered in Lancashire, and for the sake of convenience and chronological order may be divided into two groups,—one appertaining to the ancient British savages, the other to an age of civilization: or, in other words, to what have been called the STONE and BRONZE PERIODS.

The savage tribes which once dwelt in the hilly land now known as Lancashire, seem to have devoted considerable care and attention to the formation of their stone implements. Their outlines are well and evenly kept, their surfaces are smooth, and at times even polished; and much judgment is shewn in the selection of suitable materials for the several articles. Some of the specimens which represent the *stone period* are of rare type. We will begin with a beautiful axe-blade discovered, in June 1851, at Orford, a hamlet contiguous to Warrington. It is wrought out of a piece of clouded hornstone flint measuring five inches and five-eighths in length; the convex surfaces nicely polished, and the semicircular edge is as *keen as a knife*. There is an amount of art and neatness displayed in the fabrication of this specimen perfectly surprising, and makes us marvel by what means such perfection could be attained in an age of barbarism, ere the precious ore had been disturbed from its native bed, or the lapidary's wheel had performed a revolution.

The next object, which is not only the largest but most important of the stone relics, is a heavy bat-shaped club, “found about two feet below the surface in cutting a drain

forty yards east of the Roman road, in a field near the Vulean Foundry at Newton." (Pl. 24, fig. 1.) It is wrought of fawn-coloured hone-slate, much like that obtained in the neighbourhood of Snowdon. It weighs six pounds and a quarter, and measures seventeen inches and five-eighths in length, nearly three inches and three-quarters across its greatest breadth, and nearly two inches and one-eighth in its greatest thickness. The faces are convex, the edges blunt, and thinning off at both of the rounded extremities. Britannie clubs are of the greatest rarity. The only other specimen I have seen was found at Markree Castle, co. Sligo, and was formerly in the collection of the late Mr. Crofton Croker, and now in that of Mr. P. B. Purnell, of Stancombe Park, Dursley. It is of grey-coloured stone, of the exact length of the Newton war-club, and may be compared to the *meri* of the New Zealanders.¹ In the museum of the Royal Irish Academy is what is there called "the largest celt yet discovered in Ireland," which I suspect may be a stone war-club. It is formed of coarse clay slate, measuring about twenty-two inches in length, three inches and three-quarters in breadth, and an inch in thickness. This curious implement was found in deepening the bed of the Blackwater river, two miles below Charlemont, county of Armagh; and is engraved in the recently published catalogue of the collection (p. 43).

No less formidable in character to the club is the axe-hammer found at Dean, near Bolton, by the hon. and rev. Horace Powys, which is a rare example of what is frequently denominated a *purgatory*, or *Thor's hammer*, under the supposition of its resemblance to the mighty Miölner, the loss and recovery of which from the giant Thrym forms the subject of the *Hamarsheimt*. The upper and under side of this axe-hammer is rather concave; the circular perforation for the handle (an inch and a quarter in diameter) being placed two inches and three-eighths from the flat end. It is nine inches and three-eighths in length; the cutting edge measuring about three inches and five-eighths; and it weighs exactly five pounds. In general contour it is much like a large example given in Skelton's *Meyrick's Armour*, pl. xlviü, found in a barrow near the sea-coast of Scotland. In 1854 I had the pleasure of exhibiting two axe-hammers discovered in Lancashire—one at Hopwood, the other at Saddleworth—

¹ For an account of the *meri*, see *Journal*, vol. x. p. 109.

both being wrought of grawacke. The present specimen, unlike these, is fashioned out of what appears to be a piece of Andernach lava, such as was used in Roman times for the material of handmills; and if it really be what it appears, is the only example of the kind I have ever heard of.

The fourth object is far less definite in its purpose than the foregoing, and is what is called by the northern antiquaries *tillugger-steen*; believed to have been held between the thumb and finger in the cavities, and used in the manufacture of flint implements. There is little, however, to countenance the theory. The specimen forms a disc of light grey burr-stone, two inches and three-eighths in diameter, and rather more than three-quarters of an inch thick. The edge is rounding, and on each side is a concavity, through the centre of which is a foramen seven-sixteenths of an inch in diameter. It was exhumed at Haydock, about two miles north-west of Newton, in sinking a pit near Bruche Hall; and was met with at a depth of about twelve feet below the surface, embedded in clay; and immediately beneath it was every appearance of a paved way, the stones of which it was composed being flattened on their upper surfaces.

For the sake of comparison, Dr. Kendrick has sent a second example of the *tillugger-steen*, found in a field to the south-west of the village of Gresford, near where Watt's Dyke crosses the river Allen. It is a flattish, oblong, square piece of grawacke, nearly three inches in length, blunt at one end, and sloping off to an obtuse edge at the other. There is a concavity on each side, as in the Haydock specimen; but the central perforation is not nearly so neatly formed, and, indeed, the entire specimen has a more barbaric air about it.

These stone relics give a favourable notion of the skill and patience of the archaic denizens of Lancashire. But with all their skill and patience, they were yet doomed to fall before the advance of another race,—a race surpassing them in art and science and mental culture; whose advent to our shores was the advent of civilization—civilization which conquered and subdued the savage tribes of the *stone period*, and upon the ruins of barbarism erected principalities and kingdoms, whose brazen, equipped hosts breasted the tide of fresh invaders, and rendered the name of Celt a proud and lofty epithet.

One great secret of Celtic strength is to be found in their knowledge of metallurgy and the art of working mines. Evidence of early mining operations has been met with in Ireland, Cornwall, and Wales. Stone beaters have been found in the copper mines at Cookhaven, co. Cork; Ross, co. Wexford; and other parts of Ireland. In October 1849 an ancient working of great extent was broken into at Llandudno mine, Orme's Head, N. Wales, and in which were found bones of animals whose flesh had served the miners for food, remains of brazen tools, and a large number of heavy stones which had been used for crushing the ore. Dr. Kendrick sends one of these Llandudno mauls for exhibition, which was presented to the Warrington museum by Mr. George Brooks, the finder of the specimen. It is an ovi-formed boulder, six inches and five-eighths in length, weighing three pounds fourteen ounces. Both ends are bruised, from the pounding process; and the whole surface of the stone seems tinged with a green hue, from its contact with the surrounding copper.

But to return to our Lancashire relics. Towards the close of British independence we find the country in possession of the confederate *Voluntii* and *Sistuntii*, powerful tribes of the *Brigantes*, who may, perhaps, have long held the territory, and to whom probably the brazen arms to be described owe their origin. The first objects to notice are two spear-heads found together on the estate of colonel Wilson Patten, at Winmarley, near Garstang, in North Lancashire. The largest is perhaps one of the finest examples that has been brought to light, and is in excellent preservation. (See pl. 24, fig. 2). It measures upwards of nineteen inches in length. The socket, which is one inch and three-sixteenths in diameter at the base, extends up the centre of the leaf-shaped blade to its apex. The edges are ground very thin; and the blade is perforated on each side the socket, towards the lower part, with an "eye" two inches and three-sixteenths long. This specimen is, in fact, an example of what is called in Irish story, "*slidh cheann-ramhar chro-fhairsing catha*", the heavy-headed, broad-eyed spear of battle; a form, however, which is found in North and South Britain as well as in Hibernia.¹

¹ At one of the evening meetings of the Association, a note addressed to Mr. Syer Cuming by Mr. Bateman of Youlgrave was read, stating that he was





The second spear-head from Winmarley is of a much smaller size and less ornate character than its gigantic companion (fig. 3). It is nearly eight inches and a half long. The edges of its leaf-shaped blade are ground sharp; the socket extends to the very point, and measures one inch in diameter at the base; and, like the socket of the first specimen, is perforated for the admission of a peg or rivet, which secured it to the staff of ashwood.

At Winmarley were also exhumed the five following examples of what are popularly known as "socketed celts", which, in 1853, I ventured to suggest were the ferrules of spears, analogous to what we still find in use in Africa; and of which I produce a proof in a most interesting example obtained, in 1837, from a tribe dwelling on the shores of the Gambia. It is worthy of remark that the broad blade of this weapon, and the chevron ornaments on its socket, are perfectly Celtic in design (fig. 5); and, with the celt-shaped ferrule (fig. 6), offer a curious theme for speculation in regard to the origin of these similitudes.¹ These five *amgarns*, or ferrules, are each provided with a loop at one side; and their faces are decorated with a trident figure like that occurring on the specimen from Hull exhibited by me April 27, 1853.

in possession of a fine-eyed spear-head, fifteen inches and a quarter in length, precisely the same as the one found at Winmarley in Lancashire, except as to size, the latter being nearly four inches longer. It was discovered with a full socketed celt near Middleham, in Yorkshire, in 1848. Mr. Bateman observes: "In support of your conjecture as to the relation of full-socketed celts to these spears, I enclose a sketch of a pair found at Wardlow, in this county, about thirty years since (fig. 4); and draw your attention to a trouvaille of bronze weapons at Bilton in Yorkshire, recorded in our *Journal*, v, p. 349. The collection contained SEVEN spears, SIX full-socketed celts, and two broken swords; all which were given to me by C. M. Jessop, esq. I have a most remarkable collection of bronze tools, found upwards of thirty years since in Cleveland, containing a beautiful mould, in two halves, for casting these celts; a celt of the same kind, but cast from a larger mould; chisels, gouges, a knife, etc.; but no spear. But this is only negative evidence, and does not invalidate the theory." Mr. Cunningham remarked that, some years back, there was found in the north of the Isle of Anglesea a long hono-stone, on the sides of which were ent moulds for both spear-head and celt; and that the discoveries alluded to by Mr. Bateman may be numbered with those made at Alderney (see *Journal*, v. iii, p. 9), Cuerdale in Lancashire (*Ib.*, v. viii, p. 332); Holderness in Yorkshire (*Archæologia*, v. xvii, p. 329); Rayne in Essex (*Gent. Mag.*, March 1844, p. 299); Marden in Kent (see *Journal*, xiv, p. 259), and many other places throughout the British islands; all of which tend to favour the theory as to the use of the so-called socketed celts. And it may be worth mention that Worsaae places the *celter og lundespider* in the same plate of his *Afbildninger*, seeming to imply that he thought they bore relationship one to the other.

¹ In Worsaae's *Afbildninger* (pl. 68, fig. 260) is a *jerncelt*, identical with the one at the base of the Gambia spear.

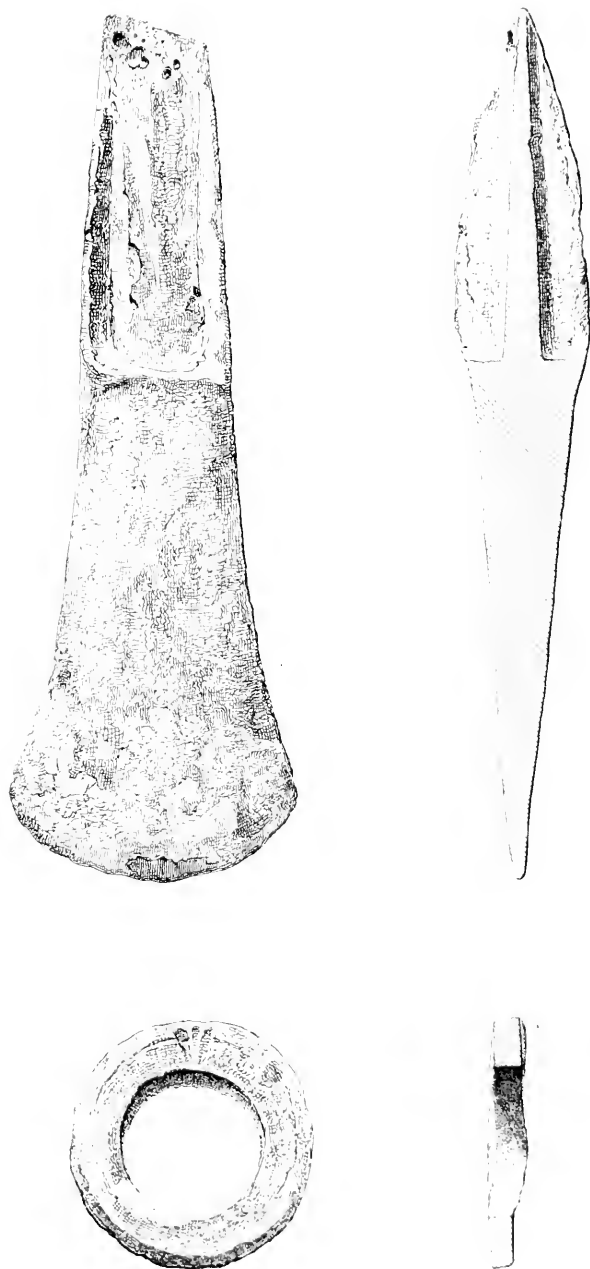
The Warrington collection furnishes a sixth example of the *angarn* with side loop, four inches and a half in length (fig. 7). It was found at Winwick; and the ornamentations on its faces seem to throw some light upon the intent of the tridental figures on the other specimens. We here see the three parallel, or nearly parallel, lines, with lateral diagonal lines, producing a form similar to that found on certain ancient British coins;¹ which, no doubt, is intended for the branch of a tree, perhaps that of the *uchelfar*, or sacred mistletoe, so venerated in Druidic times.

A short time since, Dr. Kendrick exhibited a very fine blade of a *bwyall-arr*, or battle-axe, found near Warrington, and a paalstab and bronze ring found together at Winwick.² He now transmits another bronze ring, which, with a fluted bead of blue glass, was found in a tumulus in Wales. It differs, however, materially from the Winwick ring in being much thinner, and having the front convex whilst the back is quite flat. It is one inch and five-sixteenths in diameter, and weighs 13 dwts. 7 grs., and is broken at one edge, giving the notion that it is the end ring of several cast together, as in the portions of the Roman *loricæ* engraved in this *Journal* (see vol. i, p. 148, and vol. viii, p. 355), and the Celtic ring-money, of which representations are given in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*.

The second chapter of Lancashire history closes with the termination of the *bronze period*. As the archaic tribes, wielding the stone club, flint axe, and flint-tipped arrow, fell before the hosts with brazen swords and brazen spears, so these in their turn were vanquished by legions of imperial Rome equipped with iron *hastæ* and iron *gladii*. As the strength and power of the first race were shattered, as it were, with a mass of bronze; so the strength and power of the second race were crushed by a mass of iron. The Brigantes, attacked by Claudius, harassed by Ostorius Scapula, and discomfited by Petilius Cerealis, at length submitted to the victorious Julius Agricola.

¹ For examples see *Journal*, v. ii, p. 24, and v. iii, p. 234, fig. 8.

² These are described in the *Journal*, xiv, 268. In the British Museum is a large stone incised with moulds for a similar ring; and an axe blade. It was found at Wallington, Northumberland.



Pinkstap and Ring Found in Lancashire

ON THE DATE OF THE BATTLE OF KALTRAEZ.

BY GEORGE VERE IRVING, ESQ.

MANY of our members may recollect that about four years ago, I submitted to the Association some remarks¹ on the chronology of the different events which are recorded as marked points in the great struggle between the Saxons of Northumberland and the various tribes which occupied the more northern parts of this island. Among these, not the least remarkable was the battle of Kaltraez, which forms the subject of the great poem of the *Gododin* by the British bard Aneurin. In that battle the strength of the important North British kingdom of Strath Clyde was finally broken by the German invaders. The period at which this occurred, therefore, becomes an era of great significance in the history of the country during the sixth and seventh centuries. In the remarks referred to, I with great diffidence suggested that this decisive engagement could not have taken place earlier than between the years 640 and 650. At the time when these were written, the subject was almost a new one to me; and as it is one surrounded with the greatest difficulties, it is not surprising if I fell into many mistakes. It has, however, as often as leisure permitted, occupied my attention subsequently; and the result of these successive examinations has been the conviction that the main features of the system of chronology then proposed by me are substantially correct.

As I am still engaged in following out this inquiry, I should not have intruded on the Association any remarks on the subject until these inquiries were complete, had it not been that our esteemed associate, Mr. Beale Poste, has made the following statement in a most able analysis of the *Gododin*, which forms not the least interesting portion of his *Britannia Antiqua*: "As to the date of this event (the battle of Kaltraez), it seems best to coincide with Mr. Williams, as well as the generality of other writers who have

¹ See vol. xi, pp. 11-56, and 117-124.



touched upon the subject, that it was about the year 570." Knowing the weight which must attach to every opinion of Mr. Poste's, and feeling certain that on this occasion he has fallen into a most material error, I think it would be wrong in me not to lay before the Association the reasons which appear to me to render it impossible that the battle of Kaltraez occurred so early, although I may not be in a position to fix the exact date. I am also more anxious to do this, because all archaeologists are still very much in the dark as to the real explanation of the various poems of the intramural bards, of which the *Gododin* forms a most important member, and are too apt, in working it out, to rely on some known authority as having fixed certain data, without inquiring into the sufficiency of his reasons for doing so; and in this way perpetuate and give additional weight to an original error wherever it does occur.

Were I at all inclined to be captious, or to rest the matter on a multitude of authorities following one another like a flock of sheep in the very way I complain of, I should challenge Mr. Poste's claim to the *generality of writers* being favourable to the date of 570. The count Hersart de la Villemarqué, writing in 1850,¹ sums up the opinion of former writers as follows: "The antiquary Lhuyd places this battle about 510; Dr. Owen Pughe about 530; Mr. Sharon Turner in the time of Ida or his successors, that is to say, between 547 and 568; the rev. Thomas Price from 520 to 570; and Mr. Augustus Thierry after 560." While the count himself fixes upon the year 578. Since the date of the *Bardes Bretons*, the only publications relative to the subject have been the translation of the *Gododin* by John Williams ap Ithel, the recently crowned arch-bard of the Cymri, who fixes the battle about 570; Mr. Beale Poste, who follows the latter throughout; and, *parvum componere magnis*, my humble self, who suggests 640-650. To talk of generality is clearly inadmissible where almost every individual writer has his own favourite date. We must therefore at once abandon the balance of authorities, and analyze the matter for ourselves.

The poem of the *Gododin* itself contains no dates; but it relates events which may be recognized in other chronicles and writings of the period, and which, in consequence, fur-

¹ *Bardes Bretons du VI Siècle*, p. 244.

nish us with the means of ascertaining the period at which the battle it records was fought. One of the most marked of these incidents is the death of Domnal Brec,—not, with all submission to Mr. Poste, a king of the Picts, but of the Scots of Argyleshire: a mistake into which he has been led by following “ap Ithel” in confounding the natural freckles in the complexion of the Scottish king with the tattooing supposed to be the characteristic of the Picts, or Pictæ. Now if we refer to the Irish annals, which at this period contain so many references to events in Scottish history, we find it recorded that Domnal Brec was killed in 641. To most people this would seem conclusive of the date when the battle of Kaltraez was fought. How does Mr. Poste get rid of this? Simply by the following reference to an argument put forth in the *Cyclops Christianus*.¹ “This Pictish king, says Mr. Herbert, according to the *Annals of Tigernach*, was killed in 642; while according to the *Annals of Ulster* the event occurred in 685; and as the date in the *Gododin*, which would be about 570, would be suitable neither to the one nor the other, he thought this a sufficient proof that the work was not intended to be a narration of real events. However, we may remark that, if the two authorities do not agree with each other, *à fortiori* it cannot be any disparagement to the *Gododin* that it does not agree with either.” Is this carte and tierce a proper spirit in which archæological investigations should be conducted? Most certainly not. Had Mr. Poste inquired whether Mr. Herbert’s data were correct, he would have found the whole matter discussed in Pinkerton nearly a century ago, and would have seen that the real facts were as follow. That in the early Irish annals of Tigernach, drawn up *circa* 1080, the date of Domnal’s death is 642; but in the *Ulster Annals*, which did not assume their present shape till 1541, there is, independent of a similar entry which occurs in all the copies, two others, which are only met with in the most corrupt MSS., namely, one recording a defeat of Domnal in 677, and another his death in 685. As there was only *one Domnal Brec*, no one can doubt that these later entries are transcriber’s errors.

The canon, however, by which I think all such questions should be tried, is the general coincidence of all the autho-

¹ Antiq. Brit., 237; Cyclops Christ., 168.

rities, whether Irish, Scotch, Saxon, or British, to which I may add the ecclesiastical writers in the *Lives of the Saints*, etc. Now when we apply this test to the date of Domnal Brec, we shall find that, although there may be still some uncertainty as to the exact year of his death, there can be none as to the fact of his reign having commenced after 635; which of course is fatal to Mr. Poste's supposed date of the battle of Kaltraez occurring in 570.

1. We have, in the *Albanic Duan*, in the Collect. MS. of the Royal Library of France, and now, I believe, in the Bibliothèque Impériale; in the *Register* of St. Andrew's Priory, and also in the *Chronicles* of Wintown and Fordoun, a list of the Scotch kings; in every one of which Domnal Brec occurs after a line of kings stretching back beyond the Saxon invasion of Northumberland, the last links of which are invariably as follow, under alterations of names which may easily be followed:

Ædan, son of Gouran.

Eochod flavus, fil. Ædan, reigned 16 years.

Kinat Sinister - „ 3 months.

Ferchair - - „ 16 years.

Domnal varius, fil. Eochod.

If, therefore, we can determine the date of Ædan's reign and death, we find that of Domnal's accession, which was thirty-two years after the latter event. Now the *Ulster Annals* give Ædan's death in 605; *Tigernach*, 606. But we do not here depend on Scotch and Irish authorities alone, for the *Saxon Chronicle* and Bede both record a great defeat of this king in 603.

2. In Adomnanus, *Life of St. Columba*, we find a prophecy made by the saint to this same Ædan, that his descendants should always be prosperous until they made war on their kindred sept in Ireland; the fulfilment of which, in consequence of the defiance of the prohibition, is thus recorded: "*Hoc autem vaticinium, temporibus nostris completum est, in bello Roth. Domnaldi Brecco, nepote Ædani sine causa vastante provinciam Domnail nepotis Amureg. Et a die usque hodie, adhuc in proclivo sunt ab extraneis, quod suspiria doloris pectori incutit.*" Now let us again compare this with the *Irish Annals*.

1st. You have, in the year 623, the birth of the writer,

Adomnanus, who thus records events in the reign of Domnall Brecc having occurred *nostris temporibus*.

2nd. You have the battle of Roth, or Rath, recorded as fought in the year 636.

3rd. In 641-2 you have the death of Domnall Mac Aodha, regis Hiberniæ, who was the grandson of Amureg, and is an Irish king that cannot be confounded with any other.

How is it possible, I ask, to reconcile all these facts, derived from such various sources, dovetailing as they do into one consistent whole, with the battle of Kaltraez being fought in 570? Your only course is to throw them overboard; and in favour of what? Why of some such statement as this of Ap Ithel's: "Owain, who died at Caltraeth, slew Ida A.D. 560; and Urien is said to have been assassinated about 567; the battle (of Kaltraez) must have happened subsequently, probably about the year *usually* assigned it, viz. 570." Now of such a statement I can only say, that not only is it a mere piece of conjecture throughout, but that it clashes with every authority on record that has reached us, and is the most vain attempt to force the intramural bards to become, in spite of the protest recorded in every line, evidence of a state of things that never existed except in the imagination of a certain class of modern Welsh writers and their followers. Indeed, this is sufficiently indicated by the concluding portion of the paragraph I have quoted,—"*this was in the reign of Rhun, a descendant, in the fourth degree, of Cunedda, Welsh king of Gododin.*"

Here we have, in its utmost brilliancy, the fatal "Will-of-the-wisp" which has led so many antiquaries astray when endeavouring to trace the history of the period with which we are dealing, viz. the idea that the Britons, instead of being a conglomeration of independent tribes, jealous of each other, and only combining under the pressure of an imminent danger, when the most famous warrior was by common consent chosen their leader, were combined into a great monarchy, which was ruled by a succession of pendragons, or supreme kings of the island, following the line of something like an hereditary descent. To the attempts at twisting all the facts that have come down to us into a consistence with this system, we in reality owe much of the obscurity which envelopes this portion of our history. In matters of geography, places which in reality are to be found

in the limited district referred to by some ancient authority, are sought, through some fancied similarity of name, in a different part of the island, for the mere purpose of extending the dominion of some supposed general sovereign. Of this Ap Ithael's preface to the *Gododin* furnishes an apt example. Speaking of Cunedda, who, it is evident, was a North British chieftain, he quotes the following lines—

“Trembling with fear of Cunedda
Will be *Cair Weir*”;

and immediately identifies *Caer Weir* with Warwick, as a proof that his power extended to the south. But what is *Caer Weir* but the fortress on the river Wear? and that, we all know, can be found in the north without the smallest necessity for supposing that the equanimity of the midland counties was ever disturbed by this potentate. In the same way, every person of the same name who is at all distinguished must be combined into one individual. Of this I shall immediately bring forward a pregnant example. In the meantime, however, I beg to enter my protest against an accusation which, I am sure, will be launched upon me, that I am attempting to decry Celtic antiquities, and to lessen the dignity of our Celtic ancestors. So far from it, the real truth only enhances the opinion we must form of them, while this pseudo-monarchy sinks them very low indeed. What shall we say of an united monarchy which could never combine its whole forces, and which permitted four Roman legions (a force never exceeding fifty thousand men) to bring it under subjection? When, however, we regard them as a congeries of separate and jealous septs, the fact is far more honourable to the individuals. We can then fully appreciate the difficulties which each hero had to overcome, and estimate his character in accordance with his opportunities. Something of a similar state of matters occurred in Greece,—and are Leonidas and Miltiades the less household words among us because they were not lords of the whole of that country?

Let us now examine Mr. Williams's statement a little more in detail. Owen, who died at Caltraeth, slew Ida A.D. 560. This Owen is admitted by Mr. Williams to be the son of Urien assassinated in 567. Now this includes two assertions, both of which I think I can shew to be erroneous.

1. That Owen, son of Urien, slew Ida; and
2. That the same Owen commanded at Kaltraez.

1. There can be no doubt that Owen, son of Urien, slew a Saxon leader known as the "Flame-bearer", and that the widow of the latter was a British princess, Bun or Bibba, called by the bards, in consequence of her origin, the beautiful traitress. It is also clear that this lady was present at the battle of Kaltraez, and there met her death. But was Ida the "Flame-bearer"? I think there is abundant proof that he was not. Ida invaded Northumberland in 547. Now if Bun was his wife, she, being a British princess, could not have married him earlier than that year. But what does Nemius tell us? "Ida autem xii. filios habuit.....et unam reginam Beornoch Ealric." Ida died in 560. I do not, however, object to this instance of fecundity, for that may be possibly true, although by no means probable,—twelve sons, to say nothing of unmentioned daughters, being born in the same number of years,—but to what occurred on the death of Ida. His eldest son, Adda, at once succeeds without opposition; although I need not remind the Association that minorities among the Saxon kings were unknown, and that the nearest relative of mature age was always raised to the throne, and the infant heir disregarded. But this is not all; for Adda reigns eight years, and then dies, at which time he could not have attained more than his majority; and then leaves a son, who steps quietly into the vacant throne, and occupies it for four years more. Still more inconsistent with such an idea is the statement of William of Malmesbury, that Ethelric, a younger son of Ida, came to the throne of Northumberland at an *extreme old age*, in 588.¹ Had Bun been his mother, he could not possibly have been forty years of age. But again, Ida had only one wife; who, therefore, can doubt that he was married long before he entered Northumberland, and that his bride was, like himself, a Saxon? Besides which, Nemius tells us that Bun was the wife of Ida's grandson, Ethelfrid. Let us, however, follow up the account given by this last author of the Saxon kings after the son of Adda.

¹ Wm. of Malmesbury, 1, § 46, vol. i, p. 64; Hist. Soc., 588 A.D. "Alla mortuo, adeptus est regnum Ethelricus Ida filius; post detritam in penuria aetatem *extrema canitie proventus*." § 47.—"Itaque cum longo senio satietati vitæ satisfecisset, Ethelfridus regnum ascendit. Magor filiorum qui teneritudinem annorum maturitate morum consolaretur."

“Deodoric (Theodoric) filius Ida regnavit vii. annis. Friodolguualæ regnavit vi. annis.....Hussa regnavit vii. annis, contra illos quatuor reges Urbgen (Urien) et Ryderthen et Gwallaws, et Morgant. demicaverint. Dedoric contra illum Urbgen cum filiis demicarent fortiter.” Now here we have it clearly stated that Urien and his sons were opponents of three Saxon kings, Theodoric, Frithwold, and Hussa; the first of whom succeeded in 571, the second in 578, and the third in 583, according to Nennius, from whom the other authorities only differ by a year or so. But according to Mr. Williams “ap Ithael”, Urien was assassinated in 567, and Owen his son fell at Kaltraez in 570. Now unless the Welsh “Eistofod” can alter the old adage, and declare

“That a man who is in battle slain
May rise another day to fight again”,

this chronology is manifestly untenable.

2. Was Owen, son of Urien, the Owen who fought at Kaltraez? I believe they were distinct persons, and that they have been most erroneously confounded together. The Owen of the *Gododin* is described as having died young and unmarried, while we know that the son of Urien espoused the sister of Bun the wife of the “Flame-bearer”. Again, the latter was the crown prince of Reghed, the former chief of Strath Clyde. When Urien, king of Reghed, was slain, we learn that this tribe was entirely destroyed, and his family scattered. Indeed, nothing can exceed the picture which Lywarch-Henn gives of the desolation of their home. Is it probable that when the power of his tribe was thus broken, Owen should succeed in obtaining the command of another, even of greater importance, to which he was a comparative stranger? This supposition is also inconsistent with the fact that Roderich, king of Strath Clyde, survived Urien, and was succeeded by his son Constantine, who, we are informed in the *Life of St. Kentigern*, “because God was with him, subjugated all the neighbouring tribes.” So striking are these discrepancies, that Villemarqué (p. 382) candidly admits that he at first supposed there were two heroes of the name of Owen; and that it was only the marked manner in which ravens are associated with the name that led him ultimately to conclude that the different poems refer to the same individual. But surely the mention of

ravens and birds of prey congregating on a battle-field is too common and obvious a resource of poetic diction, as indicating that a warrior had slain a number of his foes, to make this circumstance of weight sufficient to counterbalance so many other points of difference between the son of Urien and Owen of the *Gododin*.

It may be suggested that, after this attack on the views of other archæologists as to the date of this battle, I should, in fairness, put forward my own more definitely than between 640-650; but to this I demur. I have candidly stated that there are great difficulties in the matter, and admitted that my own ideas as to the exact dates are still in some respects vague and undetermined. Independent of which, the sole object of this paper has been to prevent the authoritative preoccupation of the ground by a theory I have shewn to be erroneous. None but those who have really studied a subject know the immense mischief that is done by permitting the views of eminent men to circulate without a protest. When you pursue the matter with the most sincere desire to get at the real facts, you find continually those from whom you expect the most information prejudiced one way or other by the opinion of some authority whose views, not having been attacked, are supposed to be unimpeachable.

In conclusion I have to thank Mr. Beale Poste for his most kind mention of my name in his recent work. To have merited the approbation of so eminent an archæologist is certainly a great encouragement to such a tyro as myself. Mr. Poste's analysis of the *Gododin* must ever be a handbook with those who study the intramural bards. It has brought before me incidents in that poem which have more than shaken my trust in the locality I assigned to Kaltraez in my former papers. I cannot, however, in the smallest degree admit Mr. Poste's new idea, that Carriden is the site of the contest: indeed, if the rev. gentleman had followed the Linlithgow and Stirling hounds over the district as often as I have done, instead of trusting to maps, I do not think he would ever have advanced it; for I am sure he would have at once seen that for strategic reasons the idea is inadmissible.

NOTES ON THE ANCIENT ROYAL PALACE OF CLARENDON.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P. AND TREASURER.

*"Nobilis est lucus, cervis clusura, Saronam
Propter, et a claro vertice nomen habet.
Viginti hiuc nemorum, partito limite boscis,
Ambitus est passus mille cuique suus."*¹

M. MASCHERTUS.

IN the introductory paper² delivered at the late Congress in Wiltshire, I drew attention to some historical particulars in relation to the Royal Palace of Clarendon, the remains of which were on that occasion inspected. To the remarks I then had the honour to deliver, I am induced now to add some further observations illustrative of the building, and of the customs of the times to which it belonged.

In the absence of information in the ancient chronicles, the composers of which entertained regard rather to the "aspirations of the great, the successful, or the ambitious", than to any insight into the contemporary fortunes of social life, we are necessitated to have recourse to documents of humbler character,—to records of the proceedings and costs answering to the requirements of the then state of society. Hence registers, chartularies, rentals, and rolls, afford to us in some measure this information; teach us as to the manner in which our forefathers lived, and acquaint us with the accommodation they had to answer the demands of their existence. The materials we possess to attain a knowledge of the domestic architecture of the twelfth century are scarcely otherwise to be obtained than from manuscript records and exchequer accounts. Descriptions of the buildings themselves are exceedingly scanty; and it is rather by inference from the sources to which I have alluded that we can arrive at anything at all satisfactory on this interesting subject. As we advance in time, illuminations and illustrations

¹ "A noble park, near Sarum's stately town,
In form a mount's clear top, called Clarendon.
Here twenty groves, and each a mile in space,
With grateful shades at once protect the place."

² See pp. 1-26 *ante*.

increase our means; but these, in the earlier periods, communicate little in regard to minor details. The excavations that have been made are few in number, yet those on record enable us to form some opinion as to the general arrangement of the apartments which constituted a domestic habitation. These invariably point out to us one great hall or apartment for public occasions, and a number of small chambers to supply the ordinary and daily wants of a family. In the late Mr. Hudson Turner's *Domestic Architecture in England from the Conquest to the End of the Thirteenth Century*, printed at Oxford in 1851, there occurs a short notice of Alexander Necham or Nequam, a writer of the twelfth century, reported to have been born at St. Albans in 1157, and master of the grammar school at that place towards the close of that century. He was elected abbot of Cirencester *circa* 1213-14.¹ From this writer we learn that the small number of apartments characteristic of buildings of the twelfth century, consisted of hall, private or bed chamber, kitchen, larder, sewery, and cellar. This will be found applicable to Clarendon and other royal palaces.

Of the period of foundation of Clarendon palace we are ignorant, as neither record nor tradition has been preserved regarding it. From a payment written in the great roll of the Exchequer, in 1131, for the transmission of the king's provisions to Clarendon, we infer that Henry I had a palace there; and in the reign of his successor, Henry II, "the king's houses at Clarendon" are mentioned, and the sum of 5s. 1*d.* recorded to have been paid for their repair; also 30s. 5*d.* fixed as the livery of the keeper of the king's houses at Clarendon. The subsequent entries of payment are numerous. By the assiduity of Mr. Turner we are enabled to render some particulars in relation to Clarendon as recorded in the Liberate Rolls of Henry III, extending from the twenty-first to the fifty-third years of his reign.² These have been translated literally, and in substance consist of numerous commands from the king addressed to the sheriff of Wilts in regard to new works, and to the repair of the old, at the Hall of Clarendon. These references will be found to give correct notices of the nature and extent of the

¹ See Turner, in *Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica*, who places the death of Necham, in 1227, at Kempseye, and says he was buried at Worcester.

² *Domestic Architecture*, pp. 184-255.

several apartments. Mr. Turner's extracts commence with the 21st Henry III; but an earlier notice is to be met with in the Pipe Roll of the 20th of the sovereign, and reads thus:—

“In the necessary expenses of master Walter, the notary of the emperor, coming to Clarendon, and staying there for four days, with John Mansel his guide, £1 12s. 6½*d.* And in depicting the majesty of our Lord in the chapel of All Saints¹ of Clarendon; and in painting the angels on each side of the said majesty, and the story of St. Edward in the chancel of the same chapel; and in making the wooden image of St. Edward, and placing it in that chancel; and in illuminating and varnishing the pictures around the king's seat in the chapel; and in curtaining the same chapel with a green colour; and in making a wooden image of St. Katharine in the chapel of St. Katharine,² and depicting her history in the same chapel; and in repairing, where necessary, the king's wardrobe, and the king's salsary house and almonry, and the stables, the house without the gate, and the other houses, doors, and windows, £30 0s. 2*d.*, by the king's writ of his eighteenth year, and the view and testimony of Walter de Longeford and Richard de Haynez.

“Also in mending the glass windows of the king's great chamber at Clarendon, and of the chapel of All Saints there, and in renewing the painting of the said chamber and its windows; and in making a white glass window in the chapel of St. Katharine there; and in mending the windows in the queen's chamber, and in renewing all the white [wash] in the said chamber; and in mending the steps of that chamber, and the doors and windows about the whole court, where necessary, and in roofing the great hall, £38 15s. 5*d.*, by the king's writ for his nineteenth year, and by the view and testimony of the aforesaid Walter and Richard. Also in repairing the leaden gutters of the king's great chamber, and of the queen's new chapel at Clarendon, £11 0s. 16*d.*, by the king's writ.

“Also in making a certain plastered penticke³ of the length of twenty-four feet, between the king's Nappery, or Napery, and almonry of Clarendon; in stopping the door of the said Napery towards the chapel; in repairing the outer chamber of the same Napery; in making a door to

¹ This chapel has been assumed to have been built by Henry II, as he provided for the performance of service at Clarendon; and payments made to the prior of Ivy church occur in the great roll of the Exchequer.

² This must have been built by Henry III, and is probably that referred to in the roll 21st Henry III. The chaplain received for his sustenance 50*s.*

³ The penticces or penthouses are frequently mentioned in the ordinances of the city of London, where they were directed to be made at least nine feet high, “so as to allow of people riding beneath.” They were also, when fastened by iron nails, or wooden pegs, to the timber framework of the house, made to constitute fixtures part and parcel of the freehold. See *Liber Albus*, p. xxxiii, *introd.*, lately printed under the authority of the master of the rolls, and edited by Mr. Riley.

the outer chamber of the king's Old Wardrobe, 72s. 1½*d.*, by the king's writ, and by the view and testimony of the aforesaid Walter and Richard."

In 21st Henry III, "we command you to cause our great chamber at Clarendon, which is in need of repair, to be repaired; and likewise to repair the staircase¹ of the same chamber, and roof it with lead." (June 3.)

Jan. 10. "We order that, without delay, you cause the kitchen, butlery, and sewery, of our hall at Clarendon to be repaired; and cause to be finished the plastering and wainscoting,² and other things, which are still to be completed in our new chapel; and a chimney in the same wardrobe. And also cause the walls of our cellar to be repaired and covered with plaster; and repair the chimney of the chamber which was Hugh de Nevill's there, and the other things which are in want of necessary repair. And cause to be made a certain sufficient machine at our well there to draw water; and likewise make a certain good and large privy chamber between our wall and kitchen, without the wall, towards our park."

May 20. "We order you to cause the chimney of our great chamber at Clarendon, and the well of water in our court there, to be repaired; and make a certain penthouse between our queen's chamber and our wardrobe there."

June 30. "We order you to make a certain oven in our courtyard at Clarendon."

In the 22nd Henry III, the sheriff of Wilts is commanded "to put iron bars to the windows in the queen's chamber at Clarendon, and to make a certain door before the aforesaid chamber, with a certain bordure on the door aforesaid; and to make a certain staircase and door in the same queen's wardrobe; and to repair the glass windows of the king's chamber, and to make a certain house beyond the stair of the king's cellar, which is called the Rock, and to repair the house beyond the Rock; and also to roof the chamber of Alexander;³ and to cause the king's wardrobe there to be roofed and crested, and to crest the chapel of All Saints; and to repair the king's salsary and larder, and to roof the sewery, butlery, and kitchen there. He is also to repair and recrest the king's hall there, and to make a certain covering over the king's oven; and to make certain wooden barriers before the door of the hall, and without the gate there; and to make a certain aisle between the door of the hall and the door of the stair of the king's chamber there, with a certain 'oriel' at the top of the said stair; and to make also an iron chain and a certain bucket for the well there." (Dec. 24.)

In the 23rd Henry III: "We command you to bar the windows of our chamber and the chamber of our queen, and of our chapel and of the

¹ Gradum.

² Dauburam et lambrescluram.

³ Named, in the Pipe Roll of 20th Henry III, "King Alexander's Chamber."

chapel of our queen, at Clarendon, with iron; so that they may be barred before our coming there, which will be before the end of the three next following weeks." (Nov. 5.)

"We command you that beside the wall between the hall and our chamber at Clarendon, you cause to be made, towards the park, a certain penthouse to hold litter, together with a certain privy chamber for the use of our household at the end of the aforesaid penthouse." (Dec. 18.)

"We command you to cause the chimney of our wardrobe at Clarendon to be pulled down, and a new one to be built; and renovate and enlarge the privy chamber of the same, and make a certain wardrobe of the length of thirty feet before the aforesaid privy chamber." (Sept. 30.)

In the 24th Henry III: "We command you, without delay, to cause our great gate at Clarendon to be removed and put in another place, as Adam Coe, our serjeant at Clarendon, shall tell you on our behalf; so that our kitchens and our stable may be within the close of our court there." (May 8.)

In the 28th Henry III the sheriff is ordered "to cause the under-written works to be done at the king's houses at Clarendon, to wit, a new stable¹ for the use of the king and queen, which is to extend from the south wall, nigh the gate, along even into the old hall, which is now the stable of the king's horses. In which stable there are to be two inner close chambers, at each end of the same stable, to contain the harness of the king and queen; and two privy chambers are to be made in the same chamber. And the door of the aforesaid old hall is to be removed to the corner opposite the chapel, and to be made with a fair porch; and the same old hall is to be made into a chamber, with a chimney on the south side with one pillared window;² and in the wall opposite the same chimney there are to be two decently pillared windows, and one window in the gable without a pillar, to be made as high as possible; to which chamber there is to be made a fair privy chamber between the wall and that chamber, and a grass plot.³ And nigh the king's kitchen he is to make another great and square kitchen, which is to be every way within the walls forty feet; and a salsary between the walls of the same kitchen and the wall of the hall. And he is to make a 'herlebecheria'⁴ on the outside, beside the wall of the kitchen, and to roof the hall where necessary; and a fair porch is to be made before the hall door, and the small glass windows of the same hall are to be repaired where necessary; and all the crests of all the chambers and windows are to be leaded. And he is to renew the paintings of the king's chamber, and of the windows and chamber of the queen, and of her chapel, and likewise of the chapel beside the almonry; and a porch is to be made before the door of the same chapel by the almonry. And he is to wains-

¹ Marescalcia.

² Fenestra columnnata.

³ Herbarium.

⁴ Doubtful word.

cot the aforesaid hall, beyond the dais, for the space of five couples; and to well and strongly bar with iron, on the outside, where it shall be necessary, all the glass windows of the chapel of the king and queen; and to repair, where needful, all the glass windows of the chapel of the king and queen; and to repair the wall of the king's chamber externally with mortar, and to whitewash it; and to raise the wall also of the little wardrobe, and the queen's private chamber on the east and north; so that the pillared windows of the oriol may be removed into that wall. And to make a chimney in that small wardrobe; and to remove the door of the queen's chamber into the angle of the chamber; the [outer] stairs of the chamber are to be removed, and a staircase made in that angle, to ascend into the aforesaid oriol; and he is to joist that oriol with cam-th joists,¹ and to cover those joists with lead; and to make a fair private chamber, well vaulted,² as well in the upper as in the lower story,³ to that oriol; and to wainscot the greater and lesser chamber of the queen; and to make a pavement of tiles in the king's demesne chapel, and in that oriol, and to wainscot it. And the descending trap⁴ in the king's chapel is to be removed, and a staircase made in the north angle. And the door of the king's wardrobe is to be moved, and placed between the chimney and the north angle." (March 14.)

"June 15 the sheriff is ordered to make, under the new wardrobe of the queen at Clarendon, four windows, each to be of the width of one foot, and to cause them to be well barred with iron; taking care that those windows be so high, that no one standing on the area⁵ can see through them."

In the 29th Henry III the sheriff is ordered "to make a penthouse from the great gate of the manor of Clarendon, within the wall, into the chambers on the north, for the use of the poor; and one great and becoming porch for the king's hall; and a certain cloister⁶ before the new kitchen, and a wall round the queen's new chamber towards the park, within which a small meadow may be made." (Feb. 20.)

Feb. 19. In the 30th Henry III the sheriff is ordered, "as he loveth his life and chattels, to take diligent care that the queen's new chamber at Clarendon be finished before Whitsuntide, whencesoever moneys for the completion of it may be procured; and in the upper story⁷ of it he is to make a chimney, and to repair the chimney in the chamber of Alexander, and the roofs of the king's old and new wardrobe, where necessary."

June 27, the sheriff is commanded "to make a window on the south side of the king's chapel at Clarendon, and to renovate the painting of the same chapel where necessary; and to wainscot the king's lower chamber, and to paint that wainscot of a green colour, and to put a border

¹ Gistis cambris.

² Stagio.

⁵ Area.

⁷ Stadio.

² Bene voltatam.

⁴ Trapa descendens.

⁶ Claustrum.

to it,¹ and to cause the heads of kings and queens to be painted on the borders;² and to paint on the walls of the king's upper chamber the story of St. Margaret Virgin, and the four evangelists; and to paint the wainscot of the same chamber of a green colour spotted³ with gold, and to paint on it heads of men and women; and all those paintings are to be done with good and exquisite colours."

In the 31st Henry III, the sheriff is commanded "to buy a certain iron trivet⁴ for the king's use, and to deliver it to Adam Coc, the king's sergeant at Clarendon." (Nov. 18.)

July 21, he is commanded "to remove the wall nigh the rock, towards the park at Clarendon, and to make there a certain house for the use of the king's chaplains; and to remove the gateway there, and make another; also to make a certain house in which dry wood may be stored: for the king's use, and to lengthen the king's chandlery, and to make a certain chimney in the chamber which was the king's napery,⁵ and a certain privy chamber; and to repair the paintings of the king's chamber."

In the 32nd Henry III, the sheriff is commanded "to pull down the mantel before the chimney in the king's chamber at Clarendon, and to make a new mantel there, on which mantel he is to cause to be painted the wheel of Fortune, and Jesse; and to cover the king's pictures in the same chamber with canvas, lest they should be injured; and to make a certain chimney in the chamber of the king's seneschals there, and two large and ample windows." (Dec. 28.)

In the 33rd Henry III: "We command you to whitewash our great hall at Clarendon, and to make a new chair in our seat; and make also a wardrobe for the use of our queen, which shall contain, with the chamber of the chaplains, a length of fifty feet, with a chimney and a private chamber; and build also a wall, which shall begin from the chamber of Hugh de Nevill (the head of the same wardrobe), with a stone gateway and a wicket⁶ in the wall aforesaid; and build also a certain wall between our park and the aforesaid wardrobe and chamber; and also renew and repair the painting in our chapel," etc. (Feb. 25.)

June 8. "We order you to make a new seat for our use in our hall at Clarendon, and to wainscot the space of five couples above that seat; and to lead and crest the gutters of the same hall, and again to repair the two doors of the same hall, and to roof our chamber there towards the north; and to repair our wardrobe there, which threatens to fall; and to joist and plank our outer chamber, and the chamber of Alexander, and the chamber of Hugh de Nevill; and to roof the chapel of our queen, and to make in it a cross, a Mary, and the image of St. John; and to whitewash our privy chamber externally, and to make a certain herbour under our chamber."

¹ Listari faciat.
Listis.

³ Auro deguttari.
⁴ Caminum ferreum.

⁵ Place for linen.
⁶ Wychetto.

In the 34th Henry III: "We command you to build at Clarendon a certain transverse gateway between our queen's wardrobe and Hugh de Nevill's chamber; and over that gateway make a certain fitting chamber for the use of our bailiff, with a private chamber; and also to make there a chair for the queen's use, and a window in Hugh de Nevill's chamber; and to build a house for the use of our bailiff, in which he can keep his stock; and to make a granary in our sewery to hold bread; and a glass window in the chamber before the wall, and an outer chamber in the chamber where our purveyors sleep; and turn the door of the same chamber outwards, towards the court-yard; and repair the chimney of our wardrobe, and crest an outer chamber with lead, and cover the buttresses of our hall with lead; and paint our seat in the same hall, and the piers¹ and timbers; and pave our chamber with plain tile,² and hoal the chamber of our seneschals, and make a certain stair towards the privy chamber of the same chamber; and put a marble altar in the queen's chapel there." (Dec. 21.)

July 30. The sheriff is commanded "to make a certain baptistery in the chapel of All Saints at our manor of Clarendon, and to put a bell-turret on that chapel, with two bells in the same; and in the same chapel make a crucifix with two images on each side, of wood, and an image of the blessed Mary with her child; and let the chamber of our queen there be decently paved; and in the queen's hall let there be made a certain window [looking] towards the 'herbour', well barred with iron; and two windows to the same queen's chapel, to wit, one window on one side of the altar, and another window on the other, which are to be cleft through the middle, that they may be shut or opened when necessary. In the chamber of the friars minor let there be made images of the holy Trinity and of the blessed Mary, with a certain glass window, and repair it where necessary; and make a bench round our great 'herbour', nigh the wall, and whitewash the wall above it. In Alexander's chamber let there be made a certain wardrobe with a privy chamber, and roof those houses well. Make an 'herbour' under our chamber towards the north, and likewise in our wardrobe a certain window towards the court; and lengthen our chandlery house there by four or five couples." (July 30.)

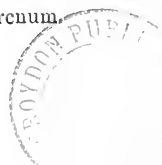
In the 35th Henry III the sheriff is ordered "to make two glass windows in the queen's hall at Clarendon, two 'sporas' in the chamber of Alexander; two privy chambers, to wit, one on one side of the court at Clarendon, and another on the other side for the household; and to repair the king's houses there where necessary; and to put two small glass windows in the chamber of Edward the king's son; and to make two frames³ in the queen's chamber, and a screen⁴ in the chamber of the aforesaid Edward, and a 'sparam' at the head of the king's chamber,

¹ Postes.
1859

² Plana tegula.

³ Framas.

⁴ Unum escernum.
34



and another 'sporum' in the outer chamber of the king's wardrobe there." (Nov. 28.)

Dec. 7. The sheriff is commanded "to put a glass window in the chamber of our queen, and in the same window cause to be made a Mary¹ with her child, and a queen at the feet of the same Mary, with clasped hands, holding in her hand [a label with] 'Ave Maria'; and enclose the house of master David² with a good wall, and make a chimney in the same house, and a wardrobe, with a privy chamber; and build a wall from the house of the aforesaid master to the house of Robert de Stopham, with a certain gateway towards the park; and make a chimney in the chamber beyond the rock, and cover the chamber outside the chamber of Alexander with shingle,³ and chevron⁴ it; and put two leaden pomellas⁵ on our hall, and a standing window of wood in our pantry; and make a chimney in the chamber under our chapel, and wainscot the same chamber, and make a staircase from the chapel into that chamber; and put two forms in our chamber, and a 'sporum' in the queen's chamber; and make a door to close up the entry towards the same chamber, and a glass casement in the window before that 'sporum', and repair other defects."

July 2. "We command you to wainscot our chamber under our chapel, and to remove the wall which is across that chamber, and to cause the 'history' of Antioch, and the combat⁶ of king Richard, to be painted in the same chamber; and to paint that wainscot of a green colour with golden stars.⁷ Make also, in the same chamber, a certain door, and a penthouse direct to the outer chamber which is now made, and rebuild the new outer chamber belonging to the same chamber under our chamber; remove the plaster work of the above towards the queen's chamber, and repair it with a good stone wall; and cause the new chamber within the park to be whitewashed and bordered;⁸ and make images of the blessed Mary, St. Edward, and cherubim, and place them in our chapel; and rebuild the chimney in our queen's hall, with two marble columns on each side of the chimney, and sculpture the mantel⁹ of that chimney with the twelve months of the year; and make a 'sporum' in our queen's chamber, and a 'sporum' in our chamber, at our head; and also pave our chapel throughout; and put iron kevlis, with chains, to shut the glass windows. Make also a privy chamber to the chamber beyond the rock; and provide two good ropes¹⁰ for the well, and for hauling timber. Make also a glass window towards the kitchen, and a paling around the 'herbour', where Geoffrey de Lezinan our brother lay; and also make two 'sporos' in the queen's high chamber, and pave that

¹ Mariola.

² He was the king's carpenter.

³ Wooden tile.

⁴ Keveronari facias.

⁵ Balls or knobs.

⁶ Duellum.

⁷ Scintillis.

⁸ Listari.

⁹ Mantillum.

¹⁰ Cabulas.

chamber; and bar the window of our pantry with iron; and make and paint a door to the spiral stair¹ towards our wardrobe, and glass windows for the same stair; and renovate the chimney of our chandlery, and complete in the stable two walls of plaster work;² crest with lead the common privy chamber outside the great gate, and repair our houses at Clarendon where needful.

In the 36th Henry III, the sheriff is ordered "to pave the chamber under the king's chapel at Clarendon, and to make and paint new windows in the king's chamber there, and to roof the queen's chamber there." (July 15.)

July 9. "We command you to pave our queen's chamber at Clarendon, and the chamber under the same queen's chapel; and to make three windows in the stair of the same chamber, and two windows in the stair of our chamber, in the descent; and to glaze a certain window at the foot of the same stair; and to make a certain privy chamber in the house where the foresters sleep, and a certain privy chamber in the cellar, against the wall of the same cellar; and three 'espora' in the chambers of the lord Edward, where necessary; and to gild the two angels and the two tablets in our chapel; and to remake and improve the queen's 'herbour'; and to build a certain house where the tools of master David may be put, and a certain 'herlebecheria' beside the great kitchen, and cover the wall beside the great gateway with freestone."

In the 37th Henry III, the sheriff is commanded "to make a house at Clarendon to hold the bailiff's stock, and another house to make the king's household bread in, and for making wafers,³ and to keep the household flour; and a penthouse under the chamber of Alexander, for the livery of the victuals of Edward the king's son; and a small pantry for the queen's use; and a window in the king's wardrobe, with a pillar and a seat, and a bench to put the king's reliques upon,—that window to be glazed with white glass. He is ordered to enclose the garden with a paling, to paint the queen's chimney, and to repair the painting of her chapel; also to make a chamber beside the cellar, towards the park; and to repair the chimney of the chamber over the rock, and to double the length of the rock, and repair the descending steps of the same rock." (Dec. 1.)

Dec. 14, the sheriff is ordered "to make a certain chamber of hewn stone over the rock where the king's wines are at Clarendon, and to place woodwork⁴ on the walls of the chamber of Edward the king's son, and the king's brother, to which lights⁵ may be fastened."

In the 40th Henry III, the sheriff is ordered "to paint the doors and windows of the king's chamber at Clarendon, and the tablet over the altar of the king's chapel at the same place; to make a glass window in the king's wardrobe there, and to repair the other glass windows of the

¹ Viccam.

² Plastritio.

³ Wafras.

⁴ Tabulatus.

⁵ Luminaria.

houses at that place, where necessary ; to make a privy chamber in the house of Robert de Stopham there ; to buy a rope with a bucket for the well there ; and a carrate¹ of lead to repair the houses over the rock, the king's almonry, and the aisles² of the king's hall, where necessary ; and to make a chimney in the queen's chamber in the castle of Devizes." (July 12.)

In the 41st Henry III the sheriff is ordered "to repair the king's chamber at Clarendon where necessary ; to renovate the paintings of the tablets in the king's chapel there ; to enclose the penthouse which is between the king's chamber and the chamber of Alexander with boards ; to wainscot the chamber, nigh the park, over the bed ; to make a certain small oratory in it ; to repair the doors and windows of the same chamber, and all the other defects of the king's court at Clarendon." (Dec. 7.)

In the 44th Henry III, the sheriff is commanded "to repair the painting of the king's chapel and chamber at Clarendon, to paint the images of the same chapel, and to new paint and well pave the queen's chapel, and to repair the windows of the same chapel. He is also to joist and cover with lead the queen's tower." (Sept. 10.)

In the 52nd Henry III, the sheriff is ordered "to pull down the long house beside the great gateway of the manor of Clarendon, and to make in its stead a chamber for the use of the king's esquires ; to build a small gate nigh the same gateway, a good and strong prison, a house for the use of the carpenters working there, and a chimney in the chamber over the king's cellar in the rock at the manor aforesaid ; to put two large windows in the chamber of Alexander, four evangelists in the glass windows of the king's hall ; to make a deer-leap in the park there ; to build a long house, of which a pantry and butlery may be made for the queen's use, and that of Eleanor the consort of Edward the king's eldest son ; a kitchen for the use of the same queen, with a certain alure between that kitchen and the same queen's chamber ; a certain outer chamber to the chamber of the seneschal of the aforesaid queen ; to build a wall of stone, and hive around the aforesaid manor where the wall is deficient ; to lengthen the chamber of the aforesaid seneschal, and to cover the queen's chamber with lead where necessary ; and to repair the ancient wall, and all the king's other houses there." (Dec. 17.)

In the 53rd Henry III, the sheriff is commanded to "remake anew the spur³ in the king's hall at Clarendon, at the door of the south side of the same hall ; and to repair, without delay, the aisles, windows, and oriols of the same hall, and the passages from the outer gate ; to make a new glass window in the king's wardrobe ; to repair the gutter between the queen's wardrobe and the chamber of the king's chaplains, and the stairs of the rock⁴ nigh the king's wine cellar," etc. (Dec. 10.)

¹ Carrata.

² Alas.

³ Espoerun.

⁴ La Roche.

From these various extracts we find that Clarendon comprised a great hall, a chapel (query two) for the king, a queen's chapel, a king's chamber, upper and lower; a queen's chamber, greater and lesser; a private or bedchamber, an oriol, a king's wardrobe, queen's wardrobe, two kitchens, a larder, a napery, a butlery or salsary, an almshouse, a sewery, penthouses, a wine cellar, a wood cellar, chambers for equerries, chaplains, and foresters. There were also many wardrobes, and a well and an oven in the courtyard. Of these the hall is to be regarded as forming the principal apartment, and appropriated to various uses.

The hall was the place of assembly upon all great occasions; that in which all the members of the household met to satisfy the demands of nature at meal time, and where also strangers and followers were received. Occasionally it served as a dormitory for guests and servants. It was furnished with pillars at Clarendon, and dignified by having marble columns.¹ When of magnitude, the roof was necessarily supported by wood or stone columns. In the hall in royal habitations a dais was erected, on which was placed the chair of state² used to receive addresses, preside at assemblies and entertainments, and whence demands were issued. Chairs were occupied by the principal personages, whilst the company and attendants were seated on benches or forms.

In the thirteenth century the walls of the hall and other chambers were commonly covered with wainscot at the lower part, whilst the upper was ornamented with paintings. The latter appear to have been chiefly employed in the more private chambers than in the hall at Clarendon; but painted glass was inserted into the windows, and in one of the references from the Liberate Rolls the four evangelists are ordered to be painted on the hall windows,³ and again in the king's chamber.⁴ The queen at Clarendon had also a hall, and in this was a mantel sculptured with the twelve months of the year.⁵ This hall was likewise furnished with marble columns. The wainscoting in the hall of Clarendon did not extend throughout, as in the 28th Henry III it is

¹ Turner observes that Neeham (Rot. Pip., 1176, lit. Hants) makes mention of "marble columns for the king's hall at Clarendon"; and "in the hall let there be pillars at due intervals." (*Dom. Arch.*, p. 4.)

² 33rd Henry III.

³ 30th Henry III.

⁴ 52nd Henry III.

⁵ 35th Henry III.

ordered to be made "beyond the dais for the space of five couples."¹ Again, in the 33rd, "wainscot the span of five couples above that seat (*i.e.* on the dais). Wainscoting was not general in the thirteenth century, but the references to Clarendon shew that Henry III extensively employed it. The wood was ordinarily fir; cheaper, and more easily worked than oak, and it was obtained from Norway. The wainscoting was not confined to simple panelling, as we find that at Windsor Castle ornament was attempted in the 21st Henry III. The boards were directed to be radiated, and also coloured. Much wainscoting was covered with paintings illustrative of subjects both of sacred and profane history.

In the thirteenth century not only the walls of the hall, but those of the chambers, were covered at the lower part with wainscot, whilst the upper was ornamented with paintings. English artists would appear to have been thus employed at Clarendon, for the manner in which the king's commands are so frequently issued, without instruction as to the employment of any particular artizans,² and the short period allowed for their execution, forbid the conclusion that these works were to be performed by foreign artists. My late learned and most lamented friend, Mr. Gage Rokewoode, published, in the *Vetusta Monumenta* (vol. vi), an account of the Painted Chamber (the *magna camera regis*, as it was denominated), and illustrated his memoir by various plates most faithfully executed. From this we gather much information in relation to our present subject; and among other particulars, learn the names of the painters employed by Henry III. These appear to have been English. Two foreigners only are mentioned by Mr. Gage Rokewoode,—Peter de Hispania³ and William of Florence. With these I must associate John of St. Omer. Of English artists, Mr. Rokewoode enumerates Otho the goldsmith and his son Edward, master William of Westminster, and master Walter of Durham. To these must be added, as occurring in the

¹ Copulæ.

² In one case only I find a name mentioned for the work at Clarendon. It occurs in the Pipe Roll, 20th Henry III, and is that of master Walter, who is there styled "the notary of the emperor"; so that he probably held, or had held, some foreign official employment.

³ His name first occurs in the account of works at Westminster in 1253 (37th Henry III). He excelled in decoration, and was engaged in repairing the great hall, for which he received *6d. per diem* as his wages.

Liberate Rolls, Walter of Colchester, a sacristan of St. Albans, an artist described as of great ingenuity and ability ("pictor et sculptor incomparabilis"). Master William, the painter, was a monk of Westminster, and received 2s. *per diem* for his wages. He held the office of painter of the Priory of St. Swithin, Winchester. Master Walter, who is specially styled the king's chief painter, was employed to repaint the Painted Chamber. He was of Durham, and had a fee of a hundred shillings *per annum*. In 1292 his wages were 1s. *per diem*. John of Gloucester was a mason and statuary; William of Gloucester was a goldsmith, and cast in brass. He is recorded to have cast the image of Catharine the infant daughter of Henry III, the first of the kind said to have been done in England. No one can, after consulting the Liberate Rolls, entertain the opinion that foreign artists were alone employed: they, indeed, rather appear to have been the exceptions to the rule. At Clarendon the selection of the artists seems to have been left to the discretion of the sheriff of Wiltshire, to whom the orders were addressed, or perhaps in consultation with some officers of the royal household resident there.

Henry III displayed great zeal in the encouragement of painters and sculptors, and his magnificent views in these respects not unfrequently subjected him to inconvenience. He expended large sums in the paintings and decoration of St. Stephen's chapel; and under his reign, and the auspices of his queen, painting and sculpture flourished. The Liberate Rolls abundantly testify to his love of ornament at his several habitations; and an inspection of his orders will demonstrate the subjects which to him appear to have possessed peculiar attractions. Reference to those relating to Clarendon illustrate this in many particulars. Thus the history of Antioch occurs in the great Painted Chamber (pl. xxx, p. 16); and it was also ordered for the king's chamber at Clarendon.¹ At Westminster a chamber was called that of Antioch; and Mr. Rokewoode quotes from a roll, also of the 35th Henry III,—“In 1250, R. de Sandford, master of the Knights Templars in England, was ordered to deliver, for the use of the queen, a large book in his house, written in French, containing the Gestes of Antioch and of the kings and others, being a History of the Crusades; and the

¹ 35th Henry III.

use of this book was to enable Edward de Westminster (a son of Otho the goldsmith) to paint the queen's low room in the king's garden at Westminster, and was to be called the Antioch Chamber." In the king's chamber in the Tower of London, Edward of Westminster, in 1251, was also ordered "to paint the history of Antioch as sir Thomas Espervir, or Espernir (whom Walpole¹ conjectures to have been the designer) should direct him." This is one year after that of Clarendon. A Jesse (genealogical history of Christ) on the mantelpiece of the king's chamber at St. Stephen was ordered to be painted by master William; and the same at Windsor, in the glass window of the queen's chamber (20th Henry III, Rot. Com. Pip.). The subject was reported in the king's chamber at Clarendon.² The story of St. Margaret the Virgin,³ the wheel of Fortune,⁴ the combat of Richard,⁵ all occur at Clarendon, and also at other places. The twelve months of the year was another favourite. The subjects of the several months were found by the late Mr. Charles Stothard sculptured among the rubbish at the great Painted Chamber. Mr. Turner⁶ says the mantels of fireplaces built in the various manors of Henry III were sometimes constructed of marble, and elaborately carved or painted with designs such as the twelve months of the year, probably the twelve signs of the Zodiac, the wheel of Fortune, and the root of Jesse. From the same authority we learn that his majesty ordered a mantel in the Tower of London to be painted with a personification of winter, consisting of a figure presenting "a sad visage and miserable contortions of the body." This was in the 24th year of his reign, and is in the Liberate Rolls. Green and gold were the favourite colours of Henry III. The orders for Clarendon concerning the king's chamber and chapel illustrate this.⁷ Others given for other places demonstrate this attachment and preference to a colour; and it has, I think judiciously, been conjectured to have sprung from the employment of Italian artists, with whom the predominant tint of green was a characteristic of the Greek or Byzantine school of art in the previous century.

The floor of the hall was sometimes boarded, but more generally formed of earth rammed down, and strewn over

¹ Lord Orford's Works, vol. iii.

² 32nd Henry III.

³ 30th Henry III.

⁴ 32nd Henry III.

⁵ 35th Henry III.

⁶ P. 83.

⁷ 30th and 35th Henry III.

with rushes, straw, green leaves, together with sweet herbs, —a practice that prevailed to a much later period. Carpets were not introduced into England until the fourteenth century.

Next in importance to the hall was the chapel, varying greatly as to size according to the building and the rank of the possessor. It was generally connected by a passage with the hall leading from the upper end, the site of the dais. The hall was in many cases used as a chapel. Small chambers were adjoining the chapel, made for the chaplains. The paintings in the chapel were, of course, ecclesiastical,¹ — the cross, a Mary, a St. John, images of Mary, St. Edward, cherubim, angels, etc. The altar at Clarendon was of marble, and over it were painted tablets;² there were also images painted of the Virgin, St. Edward, and the cherubim.³ The chapel was plastered and wainscoted,⁴ and the pavement was of tiles.⁵ Mr. Turner says there is no instance of paving tiles being employed, except in ecclesiastical edifices, in the twelfth century. The chapel had glass windows, and they were protected by iron bars.⁶ There would seem to have been more than two (if not three) chapels at Clarendon. One is named All Saints,⁷ that which is the king's chapel; the other, specified also as the king's, St. Katharine; and another is styled the queen's.

The kitchen was generally detached from the building, but connected by a passage with the hall, to which it was necessary to have ready access. The kitchen of Clarendon was forty feet square. In a house erected for Edward I, at Woolmer in Hants, in 1285, the kitchen was roofed with sixty-three thousand six hundred wooden shingles and sixteen thousand laths. There were also gutters of lead. There were two kitchens at Clarendon.⁸ In the 39th Henry III, £7 13s. 4d. are paid for making twenty thousand shingles in the New Forest, and for their carriage to the king's houses at Clarendon; and another payment made, of £11 11s., for thirty thousand, and their carriage to the same, by the king's writ.

The buttery and pantry were also near to the hall. The larder was an important part of the building, and necessarily

¹ See 33rd, 34th, and 36th, Henry III.

² 34th Henry III.

³ 35th Henry III.

⁴ 21st Henry III.

1859

⁵ 28th and 35th Henry III.

⁶ 28th Henry III.

⁷ See Pipe Roll, 20th Henry III.

⁸ 28th Henry III.

large, to hold the contents for the support of an extensive household and numerous followers. Mr. Turner has quoted from an inventory of the larder of Fynchale, of the date of 1311; and some idea of its magnitude may be formed from its having within it the carcasses of twenty oxen and fifteen pigs, eight thousand herrings, one hundred and forty dog-raves (a sea fish), six barrels of lard, together with large quantities of almonds, rice, salt, and oatmeal.

The salsary was an office for preparing and holding the salted provisions.

Annexed to the hall was the solar, a private chamber. It was behind the dais, with a cellar beneath it. It had frequently an opening, from which what was going on in the hall could be observed. In large buildings the solar was over the gateway, and in many cases it was used as a chapel.

The nature of the oriel, oriol, oriole, oryel, or oryall (for in all these varieties is it spelt), is a portion of the building not perfectly understood. It has by some been assumed to be merely a kind of porch or entrance having a chapel over it.¹ Dr. Ingram thought it an abbreviation of "orat—orio-lum", a private oratory. Mr. Parker² has shewn it to have been "commonly divided into two stories by a floor, the upper one being open at the east end to the chancel, which was the entire height of the building." Mr. Hamper, in a communication to the *Archæologia*,³ applies the word to a penthouse, a porch attached to any edifice, a detached gatehouse, an upper story, a loft, and a gallery for minstrels; and gives illustrations, which serve only to display the difficulty which attends upon the solution of the real meaning of the term. The earliest specimen of what is known by us as the oriel window is said by Mr. Parker to be of the time of Edward I or II, and to be seen in Prudhoe Castle, Northumberland. The oriol at Clarendon was paved with tile and wainscoted.⁴

The king had two chambers at Clarendon, an upper and a lower; and the queen had also two chambers, called a greater and a lesser. They were roofed with lead⁵ and paved with tiles.⁶ They were all wainscoted and painted, and fur-

¹ Copleston, bishop of Llandaff, in Skelton's *Oxonia Antiqua*, ii, 144.

² Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England from Edward I to Richard II. Oxford, 1853; p. 82.

³ Vol. xxiii, p. 106 *et seq.* ⁴ 28th Henry III. See also 22nd Henry III.

⁵ 21st Henry III.

⁶ 34th, 36th, and 44th Henry III.

nished with glass windows having a defence of iron bars.¹ Glass was first applied to the windows of domestic buildings in the thirteenth century, though it was employed much earlier in ecclesiastical edifices. It was, as is well known, employed much earlier in Italy, in Germany, and in France, than in England. It was called plain or white glass, but all discovered specimens of early date have been found to have a green tinge. Painting² on glass was first introduced into England in the thirteenth century, and the earliest specimens were executed for the Tower of London and Nottingham Castle. They consisted of medallions inlaid upon a mosaic of various patterns and colours. The progress to whole figures must have been rapid, as at Clarendon it appears the king had representations of the four evangelists painted in 1245.³ In the queen's chamber there was a painted window of a Mary and child, the queen at her feet kneeling with clasped hands, and an Ave Maria.⁴ A remarkable instance of double glass windows occurs in an order by Henry III, to be made at each gable of his high chamber at Windsor Castle; one on the outside of the inner window of each gable, so that when the windows shall be closed, the glass windows may be seen outside.

In references to the chambers, we frequently meet with what is called a spur, sporum, esperun. This was sometimes placed against the wall of a chamber, at others on the inside of a door. In the former case Mr. Turner⁵ thinks it may have been intended as a sort of canopy over the principal seat; and when over the doorway, probably designed to carry drapery to protect the room from draughts. Their object is not quite apparent. We now use the word "spur" for the carved timber work of the doorways of ancient houses supporting projecting upper stories. The mention of it occurs frequently in the Liberate Rolls relating to Clarendon.⁶ The staircases giving access to the chambers were

¹ 22nd, 23rd, and 34th Henry III.

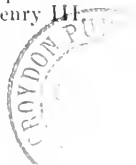
² Mr. C. Winston, in his *Inquiry into the Differences of Style observable in Ancient Glass Paintings* (p. 32), cites as the oldest example having anything like a certain date, a work in the abbey church of St. Denis in France, supposed to have been executed by the abbot Suger in the middle of the twelfth century. Mr. Winston doubts whether there are any English glass paintings of an earlier date than this.

³ 30th Henry III.

⁴ 35th Henry III.

⁵ Domestic Architecture, p. 91.

⁶ 35th, 36th, and 53rd Henry III.



commonly external to them as well as to the hall; but there were also internal ones.¹

The wardrobe was generally on the ground floor, and beneath the private chamber, the solar. They were, however, often many in number, and contained the heavy and costly cloths and stuffs which in early times formed the apparel of the king and his household; and in these, it has been stated, the tailors carried on their vocation. A wardrobe at Clarendon was of the length of thirty feet.² It had a chimney.³ Wood cellars were large; one at Clarendon was of extent sufficient to be ordered to be fitted up as a chamber for the knights in attendance upon the king.⁴ Chimneys were not uniformly attached to the fireplaces.

Penthouses at Clarendon were erected between the queen's chamber and the king's wardrobe;⁵ also towards the park.⁶ There was one also for the poor,⁷ another for the livery of victuals of the king's son,⁸ and one twenty-four feet long between the napery and the almshouse.⁹

Of the privy chambers, or garderobes, there are continual notices relative to their erection or repair in the Liberate Rolls of Henry III.

The oven was erected in the courtyard;¹⁰ and there was a well, for which machinery, ropes, bucket, etc., are directed to be furnished.¹¹ In the Pipe Roll of 25th Henry III, 20s. are recorded to have been paid for making the oven; and in the 22nd Henry III, 5s. for mending the well, which was dry.

¹ 28th Henry III.

² 23rd Henry III.

³ 21st Henry III.

¹⁰ 21st Henry III.

⁴ 52nd Henry III.

⁵ 21st Henry III.

⁶ 23rd Henry III.

⁷ 29th Henry III.

⁸ 37th Henry III.

⁹ 20th Henry III.

¹¹ *Ib.*

Proceedings of the Association.

JANUARY 12.

T. J. PETTIGREW, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following were elected associates :

John Savory, esq., 22, Sussex-place, Regent's Park.
 Thomas Allom, esq., 12, Buckingham-street, Adelphi.
 George Doubleday, esq., 35, Soho-square.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

- To the Society.* Journal of the Archæological Institute for September 1858. 8vo.
- ,, „ Twenty-Second Report of the Council of the Art-Union. 1858. 8vo.
- ,, „ Journal of the Architectural, Archæological, and Historic Society of Chester. Part V. 1858. 8vo.
- To the Publisher.* Gentleman's Magazine for January. 8vo.
- To Dr. John Lee.* Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Museum of Hartwell House. 1858. 4to.
- To J. O. Halliwell, esq.* Rubbing of the brass of sir John Fyncux in Herne church, Kent.

The chairman, by direction of the council, announced to the meeting that they had unanimously passed the following resolution :

“That the council of the British Archæological Association, desirous of acknowledging the distinguished services rendered by the *Athenæum* in the promotion of antiquarian research, and the liberality evinced by the proprietors in their late defence of an attack made upon the independence of societies and the press in regard to the expression of their opinion as to the originality or genuineness of antiquarian objects brought under their notice, solicit Charles Wentworth Dilke, esq., to honour the Association by acceptance of the honorary life membership of their body; and to consider the same as a small but sincere testimony of their regard and respect for his zealous and successful exertions.”

The following letter from Mr. Dilke was also read, and ordered to be inserted in the *Journal* :

"76, Sloane street, Dec. 11, 1858.

"DEAR SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th, enclosing a copy of the resolution of the council of the British Archæological Association, passed unanimously on the 8th; wherein the council were pleased to notice the services rendered by the *Athenæum* in the promotion of antiquarian research, and the liberality evinced by the proprietors in defending an action brought against them for publishing a report of the Proceedings of the Archæological Association; and informing me that the council have been pleased to elect me a life member of the Association.

"I am very sensible, sir, of the honour thus conferred on me, and return my thanks to the council, and to you personally, for the very courteous manner in which you have conveyed the information to me.

"I have the honour to be, dear sir,

"Your obedient, humble servant,

"C. W. DILKE."

"T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., ETC."

The following remarks by the rev. Beale Poste, in reference to the report on the antiquities found at Marden (vol. xiv, pp. 289-291) were read :

"It is said by our much esteemed secretary, H. Syer Cuming, esq., that, admitting the antiquities I described to be connected with the Britons, the date I have assigned to them cannot be correct; but that they must be anterior to the invasion of Julius Cæsar, which took place B.C. 54. But why so? The ancient British nation did not cease to exist on the conquest of Julius Cæsar, or even at the conquest of Claudius, ninety-eight years afterwards; and I can shew that point, I think, very conclusively. For according to the testimony of Pausanias, Solinus, and Ptolemy, the ancient Britons are described as associating together, and forming native kingdoms under Roman domination; during which their hereditary customs would of course be maintained, and their usual implements be fabricated, such as celts and other instruments of bronze manufacture. Indeed, the moulds in which the said implements called celts, and spear-heads in bronze, have been cast, are not so very uncommonly found, as appears by the *Archæologia* and other works; and, as a general rule, I see no reason to assign them to any other than the Romano-British period."

Mr. C. Ainslie exhibited a charact fermail, or ring shaped brooch of brass, apparently of the fourteenth century, and recovered some time since from the Thames. The rudely formed inscription on its front seems to read IECEI . EODEI . EON, and may be one of those mysterious

legends to which talismanic virtue was attached in the middle ages, and engraved on rings and brooches. The present example may be compared with one described in the *Journal* (iii, 54), which has on it NOMA MINAMI. INACIN; and for exact form and size, with the silver fermail given in vol. viii, 143. Silver and gold fermails, with the name of Jesus, are engraved in vols. iv, 405; ix, 74; xiii, 313.

Mr. Ainslie also exhibited an extremely fine and perfect spur of the time of Richard III, exhumed with some others in a garden at Hackney during the summer of 1857. It is of iron, boldly sculptured, and the upper side of the straight shanks inlaid with bands of brass engraved with leaves. The richly wrought loops have the foot-chain and strap-studs still remaining. The eight-pointed rowel is nearly three inches in diameter, and set between the trefoil terminations of the declined neck, each half of which is surmounted by a little lion or talbot. From the centre of the outer trefoil projects a small staple with swinging bar, to which a cascabel was appended. This spur was conjectured to have been used in a tournament.

Mr. Wills exhibited a pouch of fawn-coloured velvet with chenille edgings. It is sewed to an elegantly wrought clasp of silver with hinged ring at top for suspension from a girdle-hook, which has on its front a bust of Mercury. Within the large clasp is a second one for a smaller pouch, which probably held the gold money. The fastenings of both clasps are worthy of notice. They are not constructed with steel springs as in later times, but with small curved bars of silver which confine the catches, and which are pressed down by knobs on the outside of the clasps, somewhat on the principle of the old fashioned door-latch. The hook bears two stamps, the letter T surmounted by a tower, and a shield with PP. The latter stamp is also on the clasp; and with it is a shield charged with a W and tower. This pouch and its beautiful mountings cannot be assigned to an earlier period than the close of the seventeenth century, and was probably employed as a dole-bag by an almoner.

Mr. J. Clarke exhibited an impression of a vesica-shaped matrix of bronze. It bears a hawk lengthways, and the words -|- CREDE MNCNII, possibly a blunder for CREDE MICH, a motto of common occurrence upon seals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; among others upon that of sir John Fitz-Marmaduke of Horden (*tempore* Edward I).¹ CREDE FERENTI is found on a circular matrix of brass described in the *Journal* (1849, p. 388).

Mr. Bateman, of Youlgrave, exhibited an impression of the seal of Christopher Sutton, prebendary of Biggleswade in Bedfordshire. The matrix is of ivory, and will be noticed, with other examples, in a future

¹ See Denham's *Slogans of the North of England*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1851, p. 22.

Journal. In the meantime information is requested regarding the date of Sutton's death and place of burial.

Mr. A. Thompson exhibited a well wrought and elegantly designed brass mortar, five inches and a half high, with dolphin handles, and the legend SOLI DEO GLORIA. 1630. Brass mortars with the same motto are referred to in Mr. Syer Cuming's paper, *On the Pestle and Mortar*, of which an abstract is given in the *Journal*, vii, 83-90.

Mr. G. De Wilde made the following communication in reference to the columns placed before the Exchange at Bristol, described in the *Journal* for December last:¹

"With reference to the communication relating to the brass tables at the Bristol Exchange, allow me to say that I have always understood these tables to be locally known as *nails*, though I cannot give any authority. I understood that payments in ready money were once made upon them, and that hence the expression, 'paying down *on the nail*.' Dr. Johnson, I see, states that he once supposed it to be derived from paying 'on a counter studded with nails'; but that he had since found in an old record, *solvere super unguem*. It, therefore, says he, means paying into the hand. I suspect, however, the old record notwithstanding, that the doctor's first solution was nearer the correct one; that these Bristol tables were the 'nails' to which the expression had reference. When you pay money into a man's hand, you certainly have nothing to do with his nails; which you do not, at such a time, even see. The old record probably does nothing more than translate macaronically a technical localism, the meaning of which the translator did not understand."

The following communication from the rev. Beale Poste, sent for the Salisbury Congress, but for the reading of which no opportunity occurred, was read:

ON OLD WINCHESTER.

"About eight miles south-west of Winchester, towards the extremity of an elevated range of ground, is a tract of land called Old Winchester Hill; whilst adjoining, on a spur of ground jutting out from the heights to the west, is an ancient Roman camp, which by many is styled (though, it should seem, without any sufficient evidence) Old Winchester itself. It is believed that there is no Silchester here, no Pevensea, no Cirencester, no actual remains of a city; but the name of Old Winchester hangs about the place and the surrounding district; and connected with it are the local names of East Meon, West Meon, Meon Stoke Mansbridge, the Manhood, and possibly some other variations of that word. The inhabitants of these parts were called Mænvari; and we shall find some par-

¹ The drawings from which the plate (27, vol. xiv, for 1858) was executed, should have been stated to have been made by Mr. Lepard, jun. The account was drawn up by the honorary secretary.

ticulars of them connected with British and Saxon history of the sixth century, as presently to be shewn.

"It appears from Bede's *History* (iv, 13) and from Florence of Worcester's *History*, in his annals of the year A.D. 671, that the eastern parts of Hampshire (for so it must be understood) were divided into two provinces, firstly, that of the Mænvari; and secondly, that of Vecta, or the Isle of Wight; both of which provinces were given, in the year 663, to Ædilvalch king of the adjoining kingdom of the South Saxons, by Wulfer king of Mercia, on occasion of the former potentate receiving the rite of baptism. Now how had these two provinces become divided from the rest of Hampshire? The question can be easily answered.

"These two provinces formed, for twenty years, the first beginning of the afterwards powerful and far and wide prevailing West Saxon kingdom, which in the result obtained the supremacy of South Britain under Egbert in the year 827. The reader will observe it was not the West Saxons who made the donation of their first acquisitions to Ædilvalch, which they doubtlessly sufficiently prized, and would not have parted with under any consideration; but the Mercians, who for the time had got the upper hand.

"The West Saxon kingdom commenced thus:—Cerdic, and Cynric his son, landed at Cerdices-ore, or, as is believed, near Calshot Castle, on the eastern shores of the Southampton Water in 495; and Portgar, whose name is come down to us as Port, in 501. Several battles took place in subsequent years with the Britons; and in the year 510 they were reinforced by a powerful expedition from Germany under the two leaders Stuph and Wightgar, who landed in the same locality before mentioned, of Cerdices-ore; and in 530 they captured the Isle of Wight, from which the leader in the expedition was called Wightgar; and a former one, who has been just previously named, is believed to have been called Portgar, from having been made governor of the Portus Magnus of the Romans. (See *Britannia Antiqua*, p. 115.) It was in 532 that the Anglo-Saxons, dazzled by the splendid successes which the British pendragon, Arthur, had gained in the northern and midland parts of the kingdom, entered into a treaty of peace with the British king; the terms of which were, according to ancient chronicles, that they retained the chief part of their conquests, and held them in homage of the pendragon, the same as the British states of the island did, as of their superior lord. Modern historical writers, considering the now culminating state and condition of the Anglo-Saxon power, may perhaps pronounce this impossible; but the chronicle evidence certainly has it so, and the fact is worthy to be received without hesitation.

"There was then peace for ten years; and during that interval the West Saxons, after thirty-seven years of warfare in the island, possessed no more than the said district of the Mænvari, bounded on the west by

the Britons and on the east by the South Saxons and the Isle of Wight: in particular, they did not possess Winchester, which we may very fully infer, from the chronicles, remained with the Britons. The war of 542 did not alter anything; and for the next ten years the warlike kings of the Dumnonian race seem to have fully kept them in check.

“Particular precautions seem now to have been taken to strengthen the West Saxon forces, and they had the whole of the north of Europe for recruiting ground; and swarms of enterprising adventurers kept continually coming to their aid, as, indeed, they had been in the habit of doing during the preceding century, from the time of the landing. The inundation at length burst forward in its onward course. There was now no more fighting for years together, near the same spot at the edge of Salisbury Plain, or not many miles remote from it, as in the years 504, 510, 519, and 527, in their early wars; but Salisbury itself was taken in the year 552, as we are informed by the *Saxon Chronicle*, and the Britons sustained a great disaster. Winchester likewise must have fallen about the same time, or before; and there appears to have been no check to the Saxon progress up to the rivers Tamar and Eske. Having explained this preliminary state of things, but little remains to be added on the topic of Old Winchester.

“Where was the West Saxon capital from 532 to 552? The answer is, beyond any doubt, at Portchester, one of their early scenes of triumph. We need only add then, that what is called Old Winchester, and its adjoining camp, could only have been stations to watch the Britons at the real Winchester (the *Venta Belgarum*), and to prevent them from passing the Corhampton river, the then boundary between the two rival nations.

“With saying this, it need only be observed that the object of directing attention to this point has been attained, and a new idea is thus suggested of the sixth century history of our island, and of the position of the then rival powers.

“I have considered, in the above remarks, that the adventurers who under the name of Anglo-Saxons invaded Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries, received also much aid and assistance from the north of Germany. In so doing, I am supported by Stillingfleet and other eminent ethnologists; and presume that I best interpret Bede, who says that these invaders were Saxons, Angli, and Jutes, in understanding that, though the said tribes originally inhabited the peninsula of Jutland and Holstein, yet, that at the period of the fifth and sixth centuries they had spread themselves from Jutland to the Rhine, and occupied the whole western sea-board of Germany, and thus commanded the outlets of the most extensive regions comprised under that name. Nennius and our other ancient accounts of non-Saxon origin, speak largely of the great and effective assistance derived by the invaders from Germany; and Bede thus interpreted does not contradict.

"The Saxons, in their extending themselves from Jutland and Holstein to the Rhine, preserved, as we are informed, their distinct national divisions, of Saxons, Angli, and Jutes; which three designations became afterwards known on the continent as the Ostralli, Angarii, and Westvali. (See Reineccius on the *Origin of the Saxons*, p. 11.) At last, during the period of the middle ages, they lost their Germanic sea-board, and became located inland in Westphalia and Saxony, where the name still continues, and is not known elsewhere."

A paper, "On Excavations at Gib Hill Tumulus," by Mr. Bateman, also sent for the Salisbury Congress, was read. (See pp. 151-153 *ante*.) Mr. Syer Cuming read a paper, "On Ancient Bijouterie," illustrated by specimens from the collections of the author, Mr. Wills, Mr. Pettigrew, and Mr. Forman, and which will appear in a future *Journal*.

JANUARY 26.

JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected:

George Edward Wentworth, esq., Woolley Park, Wakefield, Yorkshire.

George Frederick Gubbins, esq., Soho-square.

Frank B. Macdonald, esq., 14, Elm-place, Brompton.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:

To the Society. Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Vols. ix and x. London, 1857-8. 8vo.

To G. A. Cape, esq. A series of rubbings from the brasses preserved in Herne Church, Kent.

„ „ A rubbing of the brass of sir Robert Setfans (ob. 1506) in Chartham church, Kent.

Mr. Pettigrew had the honour, by permission of the dowager duchess of Hamilton, to exhibit a remarkably beautiful japan box inlaid with gold of exquisite workmanship. It was of a globular shape, and measured three inches in diameter, and was two inches in height. On the inside of the lid was inserted a beautiful enamel miniature by the celebrated Petitot, supposed to be a portrait of the marquis de Choiseul. This had belonged to the collection of the late Mr. Beckford, and had formerly been in the possession of the chevalier Denon.

Mr. Zanzi also exhibited a japanned box having an enamel portrait of Christina of Sweden. Within, in a case in the lid, was the following memorandum: "*Donné a bon AEscien*" (or AEtien) "*par mon amy Petitot qui a peint cette portraiture en l'année 1662.*" The miniature measures

two inches in diameter, and the queen is represented with a crown on her head, and a globe with cross in her left hand.

Lady Dillon exhibited a fine oval gold box enameled in colours, and set with opals and rubies, having also the miniature of a female on the lid. This was of the time of Louis XVI.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a bronze medal of Christina of Sweden, struck at Rome. The *obv.* presents her bust to the right, with a profusion of curled and braided hair, and is encircled by CHRISTINA REGINA. Beneath the shoulder, I. H. F. (*Johannes Hameranus fecit*); *rev.*, the sun in splendour, with a label, on which reads, "*Nec falso, nec alieno*," beneath which is the date of 1675.

Mr. Wills exhibited two firelocks of the close of the reign of Charles I. The screws which unite the upper and under members of the cock have annular terminations, and the fronts of the arched topped plates, or "steels", upon which the pyrites strike, have broad furrows. These locks are stated to have been found in the wall of a house in Great St. Thomas Apostle, said to have been inhabited some century and a half since by a gunsmith named Blight or Bright.

Mr. T. Gunston exhibited five Roman fibulæ of bronze, obtained from different localities. The first was discovered at Rome, and is of a thick, solid fabric decorated with bands of eyelet-holes, etc. It may be compared with one in the Bellory collection, given in La Chausse's *Grand Cabinet Romain* (p. 102, vii, 4). The second is a rare and elegant variety of the eruciform fibula, found at York in 1834. The third is of singular and simple form, and may be compared with the fibula engraved in the *Journal* (v, 231). It was discovered in Budge-row, Watling-street, in 1852. The fourth is a harp-formed fibula, said to have been found in Cannon-street, 1852. The fifth is of a late period, and allied to the harp-formed class of fibulæ. It consists of a narrow band of metal, convex above and straight below, with three flutes down its front, which, together with a cross saltire at each end, have been filled with light green enamel. This specimen was exhumed from the site of the presumed Roman encampment in Copenhagen Fields, Islington, when excavating for the Great Northern Railway in 1850.

Mr. Horman-Fisher produced a fine ring of silver of the early part of the sixteenth century, reported to have been found in Suffolk. The circular bezel is set with a hemisphere of oculated carnelian; and on the hoop is graven a branch of orpine, or Midsummer Men (*telephium imperati*); and within the hoop is a cross, and ANN^o DOM MDXVI.

In January 1801 was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries a gold ring of the fifteenth century, with the device of two orpine plants united by a "true-love-knot", with this motto above it, "*Ma fiance velt*", my sweetheart wills, or is desirous; and within the hoop, "*Joye l'amour frow.*"

In Lyte's translation of Dodocens' *Herball* (1578, p. 39) it is said that orpyne "remayneth greene a long season"; and Gerarde, in his *Herball* (p. 519) tells us of the lesser orpyn, that "the stalkes and leaves of this endure also the sharpnesse of winter; and therefore we may call it in English, orpyn everlasting, or never dying orpyn." Hence it is that the plant was adopted as an emblem of a lover's constancy; and various love divinations with it are mentioned in Brand's *Popular Antiquities* (Bohn's ed., i, 329).

The remainder of the evening was devoted to the reading and discussion of a paper by Mr. George Vere Irving, "On 'Treasure-Trove'" (see pp. 81-104 *ante*); and at the conclusion the thanks of the meeting were specially voted to Mr. Irving for his able and valuable communication, which was referred to the council to be immediately printed and communicated to lord Talbot de Malahide, the president of the Archæological Institute, who has a bill in the house of lords on the subject. The council were also requested to take such other steps as to them may appear expedient in promoting the success of a measure so important to history and antiquities.

FEBRUARY 9.

NATHANIEL GOULD, F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Daniel M. Littler, esq., Pump Court, Temple, was elected an associate.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:

To the Institute. For the Canadian Journal. No. xviii. Nov. 1858. Toronto. 8vo.

To the Publisher. The Gentleman's Magazine for February 1859. 8vo.

To T. Richards, esq. Alphabetical Dictionary of Coats of Arms belonging to Families in Great Britain and Ireland. By J. W. Papworth, F.R.I.B.A., etc. Parts I and II. 8vo. Lond., 1858.

To S. Wood, esq. Compendious Anglo-Saxon Grammar. By Rev. J. Bosworth, M.A., etc. Lond., 1826. 8vo.

Mr. George Vere Irving read to the meeting a proclamation and two circulars issued by the queen's remembrancer in Scotland, on "Treasure-Trove appertaining to the Crown", setting forth that the lords commissioners of her majesty's Treasury had been pleased to authorize the payment to finders of ancient coins, gold or silver ornaments, or other relics of antiquity, in Scotland, of the actual value of the articles, on the same being delivered up for behoof of the crown; and giving notice that they would receive rewards equal in amount to the full intrinsic value of the articles, through the queen and lord treasurer's remembrancer's office, Exchequer Chambers, Edinburgh. The endeavour to make this resolu-



tion generally known, Mr. Irving thought praiseworthy; but he doubted whether publication in the official channels to which her majesty's remembrancer will naturally confine his promulgation, would be sufficient to effectually diffuse the information among the classes to which discoverers generally belong.

Mr. Irving further remarked: "Where the measure will be found most defective, is in the agency it employs. The great obstacle to collection and preservation of relics of antiquity, is the want of an authorized local agency. The proclamation directs that the articles must be delivered to the sheriff, as a condition precedent of the claim for remuneration. Now, even admitting that the words include not only the sheriff, but his substitutes, this would, in many districts, entail on the finder a journey, or at all events the conveyance of the article some twenty or thirty miles. One can conceive a labouring man undertaking this if he had found a hoard of unicorns and bonnet pieces, for which he might hope for a large reward; but to insist on his doing the same with an urn, or some article of that kind, the intrinsic value of which is trifling, though often most important and interesting to the antiquary,—and this, too, under a threat of punishment,—is manifestly to inflict a most grievous hardship upon him. It in consequence becomes indispensable to appoint local agents with limited districts, who shall be authorized to receive and transmit such articles; and for this purpose I believe that no body is so well organized as the newly established police.

"From the concluding paragraph of the circular of 1846, it is evident that her majesty's remembrancer contemplated the employment of the criminal officers; and it may be contended that this has been tried, and found not to produce the benefits attributed to it. This, however, would be a mistake. In 1846 we had not in Scotland any generally organized and locally distributed body of county police; while the officers referred to were of a totally different class. They were few in number, widely scattered, only paid when employed, and never patrolled the country. Again, the whole tenor of the circular of 1846 points exclusively to their employment as detectives in cases of concealment; and there is no trace of an idea of making use of them as agents. Now it is from this latter function that I expect the benefit to arise, although I do not exclude the former; and I even doubt whether their exclusive employments as detectives in matters of 'treasure-trove' would not do more harm than good. It is in the combination of the two characters that their special adaptation to the peculiar service required consists; and even then they must strictly confine themselves to future discoveries, and not go about officiously raking up old stories."

Mr. Savory exhibited a third brass of Rome (Urbs Roma), minted at Treves in the time of Constantine the Great, and stated to have been found in the Tower ditch.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., exhibited a silver coin of a grand master of the knights of Malta. The *rev.* reads, IO. PAVLVS. LASCARIS. M. M. H. H. 1649, with the arms of the order. The *obv.*, S. IOAN. BAP. ORA. PRO. NOBIS. MO. NO., with the head of John the Baptist. Mr. Wright also exhibited a cast of the leaden seal of Berenger, prior of the ancient Hospitallers, found in the ruins of the Temple church. The original is in the British Museum.

Mr. George Pryce, F.S.A., made the following communication in relation to the Bristol columns represented in the *Journal* for December 1858:

“The Bristol Exchange was built from designs by Mr. Wood of Bath, and opened with great ceremony in 1743. At that time the brazen columns in question stood between the pillars which supported the shed or penthouse called the Tolzey,—a structure extending the whole length of the north side of All Saints church, against which it was built. At the west end it joined the house of the Kalendaries, at the base of which was All Halon conduit. The Tolzey was the place where our merchant ancestors congregated; and when, in 1771, the pavement in and about it, and also before the Council House on the opposite side of the street, was altered, these pillars of brass were removed to the place they now occupy: previous to which they seem to have been used, not precisely as above stated; for upon them our merchants of a former day *paid* for their purchases, not *completed* them by merely striking a bargain in the way intimated. Hence, I believe, originated the phrase, ‘pay down upon the nail’; that is, upon either of these pillars, which were then called *nails*.

“The first of these brass pillars (travelling from east to west) appears to be somewhat older than the rest, and bears on its face a shield charged with a chevron; but there are no marks perceptible by which to distinguish its colours: all traces also of an inscription are entirely removed. On the pedestal is a small ornamented band divided into compartments (as described in the *Journal* for December 1858, p. 341), containing birds volant or animals rampant; and beneath it is scroll-work with acorns. Still lower down, in two bands, is a leaf ornament with acorns at intervals. This pillar appears to be of a date late in the reign of queen Elizabeth, or early in that of James I.

“The second¹ pillar westward is inscribed on its face, in Roman capitals, as near as I can decipher it, “Commemoraverunt incommemorabilia prætermiserunt commemorabilia nemo sibi nascitur.” Between this inscription appears a very large Roman capital P, extending its entire depth; and under it appears to be ‘Hilaridatore d. . cli’ (probably part of a date) ‘Devs.’ There have been some other words beneath, but only a few straggling letters can now be made out. In a circle or garter surrounding the above, in the same character, is, ‘This post is the gift of

¹ No. 3 of plate 27 in the *Journal* for 1858, p. 340.

master Robert Kitchin, merchant, sometime maior and alderman of this city; who dec. 1 Septemb. 1594.' The day of his death, on his monument in St. Stephen's church, is there said to have been on the 5th of that month. Round the upper edge or rim of the pedestal of this pillar is inscribed, 'His executors were fower of his servvants; John Barker, Matthew Haviland, Abell Kitchin, alderman of this city; and John Rowborrow, sherif, 1630.'

"Encircling the face of the third¹ pillar is, 'Praise the Lord, O my soule, and forget not all his benefits. He saved my life from destruction and....to his mercy and loving kindness. Praise....;' and round the rim or upper edge beneath, is, 'Thomas Hobson made me; Nicolas of London gave me to this honourable citty, in remembravnce of God's mercy, in anno Domini 1625. N.C.'

"Inscribed round the face of the fourth² pillar is, 'This is the gift of Mr. George White of Bristoll, merchennt, brother vnto Doctor Thomas White, a famovs benefactor to this citie, A.D. 1631'; and upon the rim beneath, 'The Chvrch of the livinge God is the pillar and grovnd of trevth. So was the worke of the pillars finished.' There appears to have been engraved on the face of this pillar six lines in verse, and a shield, the latter most probably bearing the arms of White; but the whole is entirely obliterated. There is no ornament whatever on the pedestals of the three last mentioned pillars.

"The colonnade, or covered way, called the Tolzey, which had served as the Exchange or business place of our merchants since its erection in 1616, was taken down in 1782, the necessity for its continuance having been removed by the erection of Mr. Wood's noble building contiguous to it. The reader will find a view of the Tolzey, given with All Saints church, in Barrett's *History of Bristol*."

Mr. S. Wood exhibited what probably formed the pictorial wrapper of a packet of funeral invitation cards, of about the middle, or towards the close, of the seventeenth century; which was discovered in 1848, secreted between the rafters of No. 34, Old Change, St. Paul's. It is a woodcut, of very coarse execution, measuring about six inches square, and consists of a centre and border. The first represents the interior of a large apartment, at the back of which a lady is seated, with five male persons standing on each side her chair. They wear low-crowned hats, wigs, bands, and long cloaks. In the foreground is the coffin covered with a pall, on one side of which stands a female holding a square tray, and on the other a man with a tall glass, which he fills from a bottle or decanter. Above the coffin are the words, WE SHALL DYE ALL. In the centre of the border, at the top, are a skull and cross-bones surmounted by a winged hour-glass. This device is flanked by reclining figures of Time and Death, the first having a label inscribed, TIME RUNS; the second,

¹ No. 2 on plate 27.

² No. 1 on plate 27.

DEATH IS SIN'S WAGES; and at the feet of each figure is a lighted candle. The border on the dexter side contains a figure of Death with royal crown, robe, and sceptre; and from his mouth proceeds a label, inscribed, I CONQUER. On the sinister side is an angel with a trumpet, the banner of which bears the words, BLESSED ARE YE DEAD THAT DYE IN THE LORD. And beneath these figures runs the legend, DYE DAYLY TO LIVE ETERNAL. The lower member of the border has a procession of the coffin to the grave, which is near the door of a church. The whole design may be compared with the invitation card of the Armourers' company, engraved in this *Journal*, v, 102.

With this print were found several documents and the memorandum book of John Coggs, containing entries from 170 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 170 $\frac{1}{2}$. He was a turned-over apprentice to John Stevens and Richard Butterfield, probably stationers, who commenced business 29th September, 1696. Some of the notes are in short-hand; and others have the letters transposed, so as to render the reading difficult. No matter of import occurs on these pages.

Mr. Bergne gave the following description of four silver coins exhibited by Mr. George Wright:

"The four coins are of Belgian fabric. They have no legends, with the exception of the word DVX on one of the four, and it is therefore impossible to appropriate them with perfect accuracy; but the style of the work, when compared with English and foreign coins of which the date can be well ascertained, leaves no doubt that they are all of the twelfth century.

"No. 1 appears to be a coin of a bishop of Liege. On the *obverse* is the half-length figure of a priest holding in his left hand a crozier, and having his right raised in the attitude of benediction. *Rev.*, a cross patée with rings and greslets in the angles.

"No. 2 is a coin of an uncertain duke of Brabant, probably Henry II or III. The *obv.* displays his armed figure on horseback, with the word DVX below. *Rev.*, a cross, as on the preceding coin, but with variations in the details of ornament. This coin is engraved in a work by Van der Chijs on Flemish coins, pl. II, No. 32.

"No. 3 is a civic coin of Thienen, also engraved in Van der Chijs' work (pl. I, No. 13). *Obv.*, the holy Lamb, or Agnus Dei. *Rev.*, a cross very similar to that on the reverse of No. 1.

"No. 4 is a civic coin of Vilvoorden, engraved in Van der Chijs', pl. I, No. 15. *Obv.*, a church or gate of a town. *Rev.*, a cross, as before, the ornamental details varied.

"I am told that these coins are probably part of a hoard discovered some years ago near Cologne. Specimens of Nos. 2, 3, and 4, are in the British Museum. Why they should have been thought to be coins of our king Richard I. I am at a loss to conjecture. The only coins known

of that king are Anglo-Gallic, to which these bear no sort of resemblance."

The rev. E. Kell laid before the Association a drawing of the remains of the priory of St. Dionysius, made by Mr. T. A. Skelton in 1858, accompanied by a volume (only four copies of which have been printed) representing twenty encaustic tiles obtained from the priory. These offer, in red and yellow colours, the figures of various beasts and birds, griffins, lions, etc., a hunter, arcades, various geometrical forms, fleurs-de-lis; some of them bear also a sceptre, and one has the letters R. E. The priory of St. Dionysius, within the precincts of which the encaustic tiles were found, is distant about two miles from the centre of Southampton. It was the most important of the monastic institutions of the locality, founded about A.D. 1124, by Henry I, for a society of black canons, or Præmonstratentians. Its situation was on the western bank of the river Itchen, in what was formerly a beautiful woodland glade; but which is now being rapidly despoiled of its peculiar beauty by the erection of a suburb of Southampton called St. Dennis. The charter of endowment by Henry I is given in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (vi, 213), and others confirmatory, together with various grants. The original is subscribed by William Corboile, archbishop of Canterbury, promoted to that see in 1122; and William bishop of Winchester, who died in 1128. Speed incorrectly attributes the foundation to Richard I. No register of the priory is known; but there are two fragments of a common seal to be seen in the Augmentation office; and they, as might be expected, represent St. Denys after his decapitation carrying his head in his hand.

The priory was endowed by Henry I with that parcel of land lying between Porta Frada and the river Histia or Itchen, which then brought in eleven shillings and six deniers; and also a parcel of land lying near the sea, on the eastern part of Hampton, of the annual value of forty-one shillings and six deniers.

King Stephen confirmed to the canons the grant of divers portions of land by Robert de Limeseia. Henry II gave them the chapels of St. Michael, of the Holy Cross, of St. Lawrence, and of All Saints, in Southampton. King Richard I granted them Kingsland and Portswood with all its appurtenances. Gundred de Warren gave them the church of Little Fageham. Humphry de Bohun confirmed to the canons the church of Chaleworth, given by his father on condition of their finding the chaplain. Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, confirmed a gift made by William Eliz. Various small gifts of money were bestowed by other benefactors, making the total income of the priory at the time of the dissolution to be £80 11s. 6d. clear, according to Dugdale; and according to Speed, £91 9s. a year gross. The site was granted 30th Hen. VIII, to Francis Dawtrey. Edward III granted by charter a pipe of red wine for the celebration of mass, to be delivered to the brethren at Southamp-

ton; and in consideration of these grants and other possessions, the priory was bound to furnish a certain number of men for the defence of Southampton, and to have them well trained, to assist the garrison in time of need.

Very little has been handed down to us of the history of this priory. It was not in possession of any sainted relics, owing probably to its dangerous propinquity to invading foes; and no persons of distinguished rank were here interred. It is recorded that one of its abbots, Odo, having given away a portion of its possessions to the pope, he thereby procured for himself the preferment of the archbishopric of Rohan in France; but was struck with sudden death after only one year's enjoyment of that see, which in those days was considered a judgment of God for his simony and fraud.

The priory sustained great losses in the invasion of Southampton by the French in the reign of Edward III, in which many of its houses and other edifices were destroyed. At its dissolution in the reign of Henry VIII, the fraternity consisted of only one prior and nine religious. It is surmised that the edifice may have sustained some damage in the time of Oliver Cromwell. Two cannon balls were found lodged in the walls, and are now in the possession of Messrs. Skelton. Various relics of parts of the sacred edifice are also preserved by these gentlemen. Among others, the encaustic tiles, of much beauty, figured by them; and some large coffins of Purbeck marble, which had been used for troughs for cattle and other domestic purposes. A Roman mortaria, and probably a clepsydra, both obtained from the neighbouring fort of Clausentum, on the opposite side the river, are among their spoils. A large block of stone in the adjoining mound, offering probably some Roman sculpture upon it, may have come from the same quarter.

In 1730, the property of St. Denys abbey, with the estate of Portswood, came into the possession of the celebrated Charles earl of Peterborough; in whose literary society, at his neighbouring seat of Bevois Mount, were included Pope and Swift. In 1783 it was in the hands of Thomas Wood of London. It was purchased soon after by general Stibbert, a rich Indian nabob, who built Portswood House, pulled down a few years since for the erection of villas. St. Denis afterwards underwent several changes of possession, till purchased, about 1830, by Mr. George Jones, a Manchester merchant. During these several changes of proprietors the priory remains suffered great dilapidations from the neighbours, who, without compunction, appropriated many of its ornamental portions to the most ignoble uses, in the construction of their barns or houses, until the only portion now left is a piece of the side-wall containing one of the south windows. About twelve years ago, Mr. Jones uprooted the foundations, which can now only be faintly traced in a portion of Mr. Skelton's house, the old farmhouse of the estate.

Traces of the fishponds of the priory, skirted by two yew trees, remain on the north side. The scanty remains of the priory have lately been purchased by Mr. Alfred Skelton with the laudable desire of preserving this interesting relic of the past from complete annihilation; and to the kindness of the Messrs. Skelton, through Mr. Kell, we have this opportunity of exhibiting the accompanying drawings of the encaustic tiles executed by them with faithfulness and beauty.

Dr. Kendrick exhibited portions of three terra-cotta vessels found in excavating for the foundation of a new building on the site of a public-house in Warrington Market-place, known as the *Brown Cow*. It was a very old black and white house, built of timber and clay, and formerly consisted of two taverns, the *Brown Cow* and the *Globe*, the latter having some years since merged into the former. The person who found the vessels states that he met with them in a dry well, four feet deep, into which ashes, brickbats, etc., had likewise been swept, and subsequently flagged over to form part of the floor of the old cellar of the tavern. The smallest of the three objects is the lower part of a two-handled tyg, or drinking-can. It is formed of very hard clay covered with a salt-glaze coloured with manganese. Date, *circa* 1600. The other specimens are the remains of braziers, censers, or fuming-pots. The earliest consists of a bowl supported on a stout, broad-footed stem with closed bottom, about four inches and a half diameter. The bowl has a wide, undulated rim, a bow handle on the two opposite sides, and the sides perforated with a band of round holes; and in the centre of the bowl is a single perforation. It is made of the same kind of hard material as the tyg, and covered internally and externally with a deep, reddish-brown salt-glaze. Extreme height about four inches and three-quarters. The other censer is in a more ruined condition, little now remaining beyond the bottom of the bowl with five perforations in its centre, and the stout stem with broad, closed bottomed foot, five inches in diameter. The first specimen had but two handles placed on the side of the bowl; but this one has three handles surrounding the stem. It is made of bright red earth covered with a yellowish-brown salt-glaze.¹ These two censers are certainly not later than the first half of the seventeenth century, during which period such vessels were in general use.

Mr. H. Syer Cumming accompanied Dr. Kendrick's exhibition with the following notes:

"ON DOMESTIC CENSERS.

"Though incense has ever formed an important adjunct in the sacred rites of various sects, its employment has not been restricted to the temple; for the chambers of the palace and the private dwelling have,

¹ A portion of a nearly similar censer to the above was found in Carey-street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and engraved in the *Archaeological Journal*, iv, 254.

from early times, been rendered fragrant with burning gums and spices and sweet-scented woods fuming from rich vessels of earth and metal. This luxury is of oriental origin, and was carried to an excess in the East never approached in Europe. Sir John Maundeville, who visited Asia in the reign of Edward II, says, when describing the palace of Pres-ter John in the city of Suse, that, ‘at alle tymes brenneth a vesselle of cristalle fulle of bawme, for to zeven gode smelle and odour to the emperour, and to voyden away all wykkede eyres and corrupciouns.’¹

“The Egyptians of the present day, like to their fathers of old, make extensive use of incense; and it is no uncommon thing for them to perfume the beard and moustache with the smoke of civet and other odoriferous substances. In cold weather they fumigate their apartments by burning an inferior quality of frankincense in a vase-shaped brasier of earthenware or tinned copper. In the houses of the wealthy Egyptians is frequently seen a perfume vessel resembling a mediæval ciborium in form, with the upper part perforated for the escape of smoke. It is generally made of plain or gilt silver, or of fine brass, the receptacle for the burning charcoal being lined with gypsum plaster. Upon the departure of a guest a servant enters the room with the perfume vessel, and presenting it either to his master or the visitor, the smoke is wafted with the right hand towards the face, beard, etc. Sometimes it is opened to permit the smoke to evolve more freely. The materials most commonly burned in this vessel are, aloes wood, benzoin, and cascarilla bark. Ambergris is, however, sometimes employed; but only in the dwellings of the great, on account of its expense.

“In Europe the domestic censer seems to have varied much in form, and was at times wrought of a costly material: thus, in the metrical romance of *The Squier of Low Degree* (fifteenth century), among other promises made to a lady is that—

“ ‘When you are layd in bed so softe,
A cage of golde shal hange aloft
Wythe longe peper fayre burning,
And cloves that be swete smellyng,
Frankinsense and olibanum,
That whan ye slepe the taste may come.’

“Fuming-pans and boxes of silver and parcel-gilt are mentioned in old inventories; and an incense burner of gilded silver, representing a tower surmounted by the image of a cock, was among the treasures of ancient art exhibited in the Adelphi in 1850. In the Strawberry Hill collection was a vessel described in the catalogue (p. 231) as ‘a very curious old ladle, used by Indian ladies for incense, the bowl of chased silver, richly worked, the handle finely carved in ivory and inlaid with

¹ See *Voyage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville*, ed. 1839, p. 276.



gold. Presented by Charles duke of Richmond to Horace Walpole.' But though the precious metals were employed in the formation of incense-vessels for the mansions of the wealthy, the censers in common use were generally earthen vases made with and without covers. In Simon Paulli's *Flora Danica* (1648) are representations of the seasons, winter being a lady warming herself at the hearth, near which stands a vase-shaped censer much like Dr. Kendrick's most perfect example, but having a cover through which the odoriferous fumes are seen ascending.¹

"Borachio, in *Much Ado about Nothing* (i, 3), speaks as 'a perfumer' of 'smoking a musty room'; and Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, says, 'the smoke of juniper is in great request with us at Oxford, to sweeten our chambers.' But it was not alone the private apartment, but the public shop, that was made sweet smelling with burning incense. Stubbe, in his *Anatomy of Abuses* (1583), when speaking of the barber's craft, says,—'You shall have also your orient perfumes for your nose, your fragrant waters for your face, wherewith you shall bee all to besprinkled. Your musicke, againe, and pleasant harmonic shall sound in your eares; and all to tickle the same with vaine delight.' And Petrucio, in *The Taming of the Shrew* (iv, 3), likens the 'cut-work' in the sleeve of his wife's new dress to the perforations of 'a censer in a barber's shop.'

"The antique censer of ample size and rich design has, however, long since vanished from the dwellings of men of all conditions; but the love of perfume still lingers among the indwellers, and the place of the fuming-pot of old is now supplied by the less costly and diminutive pastile-burner of Wedgewood ware and porcelain, in form of vases and baskets, cottages and castles, dove-cots, fruits, figures, and other quaint devices."

Mr. Forman exhibited a fine specimen of thurible, of bronze, obtained from Cologne, and of the thirteenth century, which was referred for further examination.

FEBRUARY 23.

JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

To the Author. Géographie du Moyen Age, par J. Lelewel. Epilogue. Bruxelles, 1857. 8vo.

To T. J. Pettigrew, esq. Catalogue of Antiquities formed by B. Hertz. London, 8vo., 1859.

¹ What these fumes arose from may be guessed at by referring to Hannah Woolley's *Queen-like Closet, a rich Cabinet stored with all manner of Rare Receipts* (London, 1684, p. 85), wherein she tells us how to make "a very good perfume to burn: take two ounces of the powder of juniper wood, one ounce of benjamin, one ounce of storax, six drops of oil of limons, as much oil of cloves, ten grains of musk, six of civet; mould them up with a little gum-dragon steeped in rosewater, make them in little cakes, and dry them between rose leaves; your juniper wood must be well dried, beaten, and searced."

Mr. F. Vallé laid before the meeting a portion of human skull and some pieces of pottery, respecting which he made the following communication :

“The piece of pottery and portion of skull were found at Wyke (in the map Wyke Regis), which is about a mile and a quarter from Weymouth, on the road to Portland. They were found in a cyst, or grave, formed of two large stones set on edge for the sides, and two others for the ends, with one on the top ; and it was about three feet and a half long, and ten inches wide, and the same in depth. It was discovered by a man in digging his portion of the ground, which is let out at a cheap rate to the poor, and was about thirty yards from the east wall of the burial-ground, which lay on the opposite side of the road from the church. Unfortunately, the first intimation the man had of it was from his spade passing through the top stone, which was much perished and rotten, just over where the urn was placed ; which, with the skull, was in consequence much shattered. Nothing was found except the bones and the urn ; and the man told me he had searched well.

“This was on the 12th January. But he told me that a fortnight before he had been more fortunate in discovering a grave of the same description, from which he had obtained the urn in a perfect state. This urn had been obtained from him by the clergyman of the parish, to be sent up to London for the inspection of some antiquarian friend ; and the man was in daily expectation of receiving it back, when I intended to have procured it ; but it had not arrived at the time of my leaving Weymouth. The man also came upon two little heaps of broken stone, which no doubt had formed parts of two other graves, at some previous time probably ploughed up, as he said corn used to be grown there, for the graves were only about a foot beneath the soil. The perfect urn, which he said would hold about three pints, when discovered was placed on the top of, or over, the skull ; but nothing was in it. I don't think ancient graves have been often found on that side Weymouth ; but five or six miles to the north, on the downs, I heard from good authority that there are many acres of Roman graves.”

Mr. W. H. Forman presented an impression of the seal of John, the son of Howel Gor. It is of the thirteenth century ; and will be described with other seals in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mr. George Vere Irving read a paper, “On the Date of the Battle of Kaltraez.” (See pp. 237-245 *ante*.)

Mr. Cecil Brent exhibited four silver Roman denarii of the emperors Trajan and Hadrian, found in December last, at Turvey in Bedfordshire, on the estate of Crewe Alston, esq., of Odell Castle. They were of ordinary types, and in good preservation.

Mr. W. H. Forman exhibited three silver brooches belonging to the seventeenth century. They were described, together with other specimens of similar character, by Mr. Syer Cuning. The largest, upwards

of three inches in height, represents two hearts overlapping each other, each being provided with a tongue, so that the brooch formed two buckles. They are surmounted by a bold scroll-work, and towards the lower part are crossed by a large A, the initial of AMOR. On the back are the letters A S.—A S.; and INS, in three stamps; and K M is also engraved on it.

The second specimen is smaller, measuring only one inch and three-sixteenths high; represents two hearts conjoined, and has a steel tongue. It is surmounted by a coronet; and the point of each heart terminates with a trefoil. On the back is engraved, "*My (figure of a heart) ye have, and thin I creve.*" These double-tongued brooches appear to be of Scotch manufacture. Such were common in Scotland as early as the fourteenth century, and are continued to this day.

The third specimen is two inches and three-eighths in height; represents a single heart crossed by a silver tongue, and surmounted by a coronet. The initials $\frac{WM}{NT}$ are engraved on the back, together with the words, "*Ruth 1, chap. 5 vers. 16th, 1736.*" The date must indicate the period when the inscription was made, for the brooch is not later than the seventeenth century.

The rev. W. C. Lukis, M.A., F.S.A., of Collingbourne Ducis, near Marlborough, communicated a paper, "On the History of the Salisbury Bell Foundry." (See pp. 141-150 *ante*.)

Miss Wickins forwarded a drawing made from a model of the belfry tower which formerly stood near to the cathedral of Salisbury.

MARCH 9.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected:

Daniel D. Hopkyns, esq., Weycliffe, St. Catherine's, near Guildford.

John Sullivan, esq., Onslow House, Brompton.

William Cockeram, esq., West Coker, Yeovil, Somerset.

Lady Frankland Russell, The Chequers, Buckinghamshire.

The Right Hon. Charles Tennyson D'Eyncourt, F.R.S., F.S.A.,
Bayons Manor, Lincolnshire.

Thanks were given for the following presents:

To the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Society, No. 33. 8vo.

To the Publisher. The Gentleman's Magazine for March 1859. 8vo.

Mr. Horman Fisher exhibited a small bronze cascabel, discovered in the moat of Cheshunt House, Herts. It is similar to that engraved in the *Journal* (vi, 56), and together with that specimen belongs probably to the sixteenth or the early part of the seventeenth century.

Mr. S. Wood exhibited a fine octagonal plate or dish of the rare old *tortoiseshell ware*. Marryat, in his *History of Pottery and Porcelain* (ed. 1850, p. 63), when describing the wares of Staffordshire, says—"In the reign of Queen Anne and George I, the material was improved by a mixture of sand and pipeclay, and coloured with oxide of copper and manganese, which produced the *agate ware* and the *tortoiseshell ware*," and thus the pottery began to take the quality of "hard paste." Eight examples of "tortoiseshell ware" are deposited in the Museum of Practical Geology. They consist of a tea and coffee pot, bowl, butter-boat, two plates and two dishes—one of the latter having been, according to Enoch Wood, manufactured by Wedgwood.

Mr. T. Gunston exhibited an extensive collection of flint javelin points or arrow heads found in the northern part of Ireland, the first portion of which consist of what are by the peasantry denominated elf darts. They are of early form, and were probably fastened to the reed or shaft by a thong or string, an adaptation practised at the present time by the American Indians. The second series shewed an important change, the base being hollowed out to admit of the shaft, and in some instances serrated at the edge. Those marked as the third portion had a long tang or projection for sinking into the shaft, with barbs on either side, and may be termed the broad arrow. Others had the wings or barbs prolonged below the central stem, specimens of which description have been discovered in Wiltshire and Derbyshire. The remainder consisted of various coloured flints, opaque and transparent; they are very thin, and chipped all over with the greatest care; some are in the shape of a spear, a leaf, or a lozenge, and for beauty of outline may be considered as representing the most perfect manufacture of weapons of this class.

Mr. T. Gunston also exhibited a British *Gwaëw-Hela* or hunting spear, of yellow bronze, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, of beautiful workmanship, and in excellent preservation. It was exhumed near Lincoln, and closely resembles a specimen discovered in Derbyshire, engraved in the *Journal* (ii, 280). Spear-heads of this type are rarely met with in England, but are more common in Ireland. One found in county Tyrone is given in the *Journal* of the Archæological Institute (ii, 187).

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a paper, "On old English Arrow Heads," which will appear in a future *Journal*.

Mr. J. O. Halliwell communicated an extract from an ancient MS. relating to the death of king John, which will be printed in the "Original Documents."

Mr. T. Wakeman read a paper, "On a Kitchener's Account relating to the Abbey of Tewkesbury, from the Festival of St. Michael 1385, to that of 1386," which will also be found in the "Original Documents."

MARCH 23.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

George Patrick, esq., of Gloster-villas, Loughborough-road, Brixton, was elected an associate.

Thanks were voted to the Canadian Institute for the nineteenth No. of their *Journal*, new series, Toronto, 8vo. January 1859.

Mr. J. O. Halliwell exhibited a token of WILLIAM WILLKESON † IN LAMBETH. HIS HALFE PENNY. 1668. On the reverse is a representation of two men carrying a barrel by the aid of a cowlstaff. It will be remembered that Mrs. Ford's men carried Falstaff, when in the buckbasket, by means of a similar contrivance, and it is indeed employed by brewers at the present day. This token seems to be scarce. It is not in the Beaufoy cabinet, where there are only two specimens of tokens belonging to Lambeth.

Mr. W. H. Forman exhibited a richly wrought steel key, nearly five inches long, bearing a general resemblance in design to one described in the *Journal* (xiv, 273). The broad quadri-facial stem is perforated with scroll-work, and within it is placed an ornamental pillar, which may be turned round by a knob or button surmounting the pyramidal capping of the stem. This odd conceit brings to remembrance a key of the middle of the sixteenth century, described in the *Journal* (xii, 125), the bow of which represents two dolphins with the pillar between them, the turning knob being above their heads. The present specimen is of the end of the reign of Henry VII, or early part of that of Henry VIII. It is of German fabric, and its ornamentation offers an interesting example of the blending of styles, when the Gothic began to lose itself in the Renaissance.

Mr. Forman also produced the lock of a snaphaunce musket, of iron, plated with silver, elegantly chiseled, gilded, set with coral, coloured paste and crystal, and inlaid with brass. The bulb of the hammer-screw is perforated two ways, and surmounted by two cornute branches, by which it can be turned. The hammer is about two inches and a quarter long, its inner surfaces have waved *sulci* to steady the flint (the substitute of the earlier pyrites); and the steel on which it strikes is one inch and a half wide, and has its face deeply furrowed. It is of the time of Elizabeth or James I, and is an object of much beauty and value.

Mr. Forman also laid before the Association a triple-barreled fire-lock pistol. The stock is of ivory, mounted with gilt metal, its upper side being embellished with scrolls, etc. of piquet-work. The russet barrels and lock are richly inlaid with gold foliage; an art termed by the Italians

Agemina, a curious example of which is mentioned in the *Journal* (x, 175.) The lock and stock are of the time of James II, but the character of the *Agemina* might fairly refer the barrels to a somewhat earlier period.

Mr. T. Gunston called attention to a halfpenny of Elizabeth, having above the portcullis a *woolpack* for MM. The woolpack is seldom seen on pieces of this value, though common on the sovereign, and half-shillings of the years 1594-95-96. The more usual MM. found on the halfpenny is the anchor, key, and figures 1 and 2. This specimen was brought to light in the destruction of an old house in Westminster in 1858.

Mr. G. G. Adams exhibited an *aequipondium* or moveable weight belonging to a Roman *statera*. It is of bronze, of fine and early workmanship, and represents the vittaed bust of the young Hercules. It was found in Rome. In the *Journal*, i, 147, is an *aequipondium* representing the emperor Tiberius; in vol. vi, p. 52, a double-conic weight of lead discovered near Oxford, and in p. 156, a bronze *statera* with a similar *aequipondium*, exhumed at York.

Mr. Adams also laid before the meeting a statuette of Jupiter, four inches and a half high—an exquisite Florentine bronze of the quattrocento period.

Mr. Pettigrew read "Notes on the Ancient Palace at Clarendon, Wilts" (See pp. 246-264, *ante*.)

APRIL 13.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

JAMES HEYWOOD, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

See pp. 160-173 *ante*.

APRIL 27.

NATHANIEL GOULD, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected :

- Parker Margetson, esq., 52, Maddox-street, Bond-street.
- John Joseph Briggs, esq., Kings Newton, Swarkeston, Derbyshire.
- Henry Walker, esq., 4, Bloomfield-crescent, Harrow-road.
- J. H. Belfrage, esq., 7, New Inn, Strand.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

- To the Society.* Architectural Museum Report, 1859, 8vo.
- To the Institute.* Archæological Journal, No. 60, 8vo.
- To the Publisher.* Gentleman's Magazine for April, 8vo.

Mr. T. Wills exhibited the following objects: 1. Bronze key of the thirteenth century, stated to have been exhumed when excavating for the church of St. Mary le Bow, Cheapside, and to have formerly been in the possession of sir Christopher Wren. It has a piped stem, with lozenge-bow with a trefoil at the points, and the edge of the bit is channeled to pass over a peg at the entrance of the lock. It is in fine condition, and beautifully patinated. 2. Leaden seal, or bull, of pope Innocent VI (1352-62), believed to have been found in the Thames. 3. Sportsman's companion, consisting of a turncrew, single-faced hammer, and touch-hole picker of steel. The centre of the first-named implement is cut out in the shape of an ace of spades. The second article forms the handle to the third, which screws into the upper end of the turncrew. The whole are of neat fabric, and probably not older than the early part of the eighteenth century.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming also produced a sportsman's companion of steel, in which the hammer has a claw and flat-faced ends, the turncrew projecting from the upper part of the head, the picker from the under side, and screwing into the handle. A worm for withdrawing the cartridge, etc., is fitted to the haft, and screws on to its butt. This specimen is of the time of William III. In the Meyrick Collection are two wheel-lock spanners of the sixteenth century, with turncrews at the end. Early examples of the worm are rare; and, although dating from the sixteenth century, the instrument seems to have almost escaped notice. Minsheu, in his *Dictionarie in Spanish and English*, 1599, mentions the "*sacapelotas*, a vice or skrew to plucke out bullets with." In Torriano's *Vocabolario Italiano et Inglese*, 1688, the worm is called *rasciatoio*; and in Boyer's French Dictionary, 1699, *tire-bourre*.

Mr. John Clutton exhibited a richly chased silver watch-case of the time of queen Anne. It is two inches in diameter; the upper ring decorated with flowers and scrolls; the lower part having in its centre a nude figure of Pallas, the goddess of war, seated, and equipped with helmet, spear, and shield; in the distance is a tent. The surrounding border is divided into eight cartouches, two occupied with vases of flowers, and two with profile busts—one a bearded male, the other a female. The first may be intended for a Druid, the second for queen Anne, for, though differing from her later portraits, it resembles some of her earlier medals.

Mr. A. Thompson called attention to a watch-case of gilt metal, barely two inches in diameter, elegantly chased with flowers, scrolls, a seated female figure, and three standing warriors. This specimen is of the time of George II, and apparently the work of George Michael Moser.

Mr. G. Woodhouse exhibited an octagonal plaque of azure-blue glass, each side painted with a miniature in oil—one representing the Baptism of our Saviour; the other Christ walking on the sea; both apparently

from Raffaele's designs. They are executed with great spirit and precision, the eight figures composing the two subjects being full of action and expression, the shadows well balanced, and the rich colouring admirably thrown out by the deep hue of the vitreous field. The plaque is set in an elegant gold frame, decorated with turquoise and black enamel. At the top there is a ring for suspension. This beautiful trinket is a Spanish production of the close of the sixteenth or early part of the seventeenth century.

Mr. Forman exhibited a leather costrel of the sixteenth century, recently obtained from Barrow Hall, Lincolnshire.

Mr. Swynfen Jervis exhibited a portion of an iron horse shoe found at Darleston, near Stone, Staffordshire, in digging for a drain. It appears to be of the sixteenth century.

Miss Allen exhibited two Nuremberg jettons of the seventeenth century, found at Silchester.

Mr. Wentworth, of Woolley Park, sent a transcript of a letter addressed "To Mr. Wentworth and the rest of the Deputy Lieutenants, Leeds":

"Preston, Nov. 13, 1715.

"10 att night.

"GENTLEMEN,—At ten a'clocke this night I rec'd y^e favour of yours dated the 12 instant. I arrived here on Fryday, and immediately surrounded the place; after which I made such attacks as were necessary to convince y^e rebells of my being in a condition to reduce them by force. And this afternoon they sent out a trumpetter to desire I would capitulate with them, which I have consented to; and l^d Darenwater and Jⁿ Wintech are now with me as hostages. I have not yett come to any agreements with them; nor shall I give them any other termes then relying on the kings mercy, to which I imagine they will submitt, being sufficiently convinced I have them intirely in my power. Please to make my compliments to l^d Burlington; and believe me with great truth, gentlemen, y^r most humble servant,

"CHA. WILLS."

"This came express about 8 on Monday night to Leeds:

"By another express on Sunday morning, from Preston, about eight of y^e clock; which gives an account that some of the rebells killed some of Wills men goeing into the town; upon which he ordered his soldiers to fire, & killed about 50 of them; upon which they all surrendered; of the prisoners about 900 in the church, & also computed 900 more in the town. One 5th part of the town is burned; 20 indeavouring to make their escape, part was killed, & part taken. Brigadeer Lomdley was proake to peices. The militia behaved themselves very well. 11 clergemen of the Church of England was with them. Computed about 500 killed of the rebells, & about 200 of y^e kings forces."

*



Mr. Gunston exhibited a gold coin of Cunobeline, found in March last, in a field near the ancient trackway adjoining the parish of Aston Rowant, Oxon. The *obv.*, which is convex, presents an ear of corn, and the Roman letters CAM (Camalodunum); on the *rev.* is a well defined horse pellet and palm branch, besides the initials CVN (Cunobeline). It is slightly alloyed, and weighs eighty-four grains. (See *Ruding*, vol. vi, plate 4.)

Mr. Planché exhibited the iron head of a *gar*, or war-spear, above eighteen inches in length, exhumed, with portions of a terra-cotta urn, from an Anglo-Saxon grave at Gilton, near Ash, Sandwich, Kent. It is in fine condition, and may be compared with the example found at Northfleet, and engraved in the *Journal* (iii, 236), but which measures only fifteen inches in length. A notice of Anglo-Saxon spears is given in the *Journal*, xiii, 203.

The remainder of the evening was occupied in the reading of Mr. Wakeman's paper on Pembridge castle, Herefordshire. See pp. 153-159 *ante*.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER 1859.

ON THE EARTHWORKS AT OLD SARUM.

BY GEORGE VERE IRVING, ESQ.

THE earthworks at Old Sarum are of great interest, not only in shewing the formidable and important character of the commanding fortress which formerly crowned the remarkable height on which they are erected, but still more in consequence of their presenting us with some peculiarities of minute detail, which throw considerable light on this department of archaeology. Before, however, adverting to the particulars of these earthworks, it will be more convenient if I, in the first place, direct attention to the documentary and other historical information we possess relating to this fortification.

1. As to the occupation of the site by the aboriginal Britons, prior to the Roman invasion, we do not possess the smallest documentary evidence. The classic historians furnish the most meagre and scanty information as to the towns and strongholds of the British before they fell under the imperial rule. It is rare indeed, if ever, that their descriptions enable us to fix the exact sites of the few that they more pointedly refer to; and among these Old Sarum is not to be found. The attempt to identify it with one of the towns taken by Vespasian, is a mere piece of wild conjecture unworthy of the present state of archaeological science. I am aware it has been argued that, because in subsequent times we find it known to the Romans as *Sorbiodunum*, and as this word is of Celtic origin, that therefore there is proof

that it was known and occupied as a *city* or *fortress* by the original tribes before their subjection. The least attention to the facts of the case, and to the ordinary rules of evidence, will shew in a moment how inconclusive this argument is. The Romans, although they subdued, did not drive out or exterminate the natives, as we find from more than one historian was frequently the custom of the Saxons. On the contrary, they contented themselves with the acknowledgment of their power as paramount sovereigns; and, when this was admitted, encouraged the people to establish towns of their own. The testimony of Tacitus as to the course pursued by Agricola, is conclusive as to this fact in Britain. That the aborigines, following the advice given them by that able statesman, in founding their new towns should at the same time employ their native language to designate them, is only what we might expect. The arts of civilization are acquired in a far shorter period than the common use of a new language; independently of which the Latin never appears to have taken a strong hold upon the people of this country, for few and far between are the places whose modern names can be traced to that language. At no time, indeed, can we suppose that there occurred a great infusion of the Italian element into this island. The military forces of the Romans never exceeded four legions; and their colonies, or strictly Latin settlements, were anything but numerous. Under these circumstances it is impossible to suppose that Latin entirely superseded the Celtic dialects: nay, we have proof of the inaccuracy of such a supposition in the fact that the moment the legions were withdrawn, bards are found using a Cymric language intelligible to the modern Welsh scholar. The truth is, that during the Roman occupation of this island, the Latin held the same relation to the Celtic as it does in Hungary, at the present moment, to the Magyar. From this it is evident that the Celtic origin of the name of a fortress can afford no proof of the existence of the stronghold prior to the era of the author in which it occurs; and that, in the event of his being a late one, its construction may date as low as the appearance of the Saxons. Moreover, even if it was admitted that the Celtic *Sorbidunum* received its name in pre-Roman times, there is nothing to shew that it originally implied the fortress, and not its site. Even in the rudest state of society, remarkable

geographical objects obtain individual names, without which the servant or the serf could not describe to his master where the cattle had been, or were left. This class of nomenclature is generally founded on natural features; and to it the word *Sorbiodunum*, or the “dry down” seems referable. It might, therefore, be applied to the hill, although there was no fortress upon it: indeed, its dry situation would seem to militate against its being occupied as a permanent military position by a semi-civilized tribe; while the Romans, by their remarkable skill in hydraulics, would easily overcome the difficulty. As the latter would naturally adopt the existing name of the hill to designate their fortification on the top, there is nothing even in this view of the Celtic origin of the name, which in any way necessitates, or renders more than conjectural, the existence of a pre-Roman town on the site of Old Sarum.

Of the military occupation of Old Sarum by the Romans, we do possess a certain amount of documentary evidence, but it is neither so full nor so unwavering as that met with in many other places. Ptolemy has no mention of it in his enumeration of the towns in the territory of the Belgæ. *Sorbiodunum*, however, occurs in the seventh, twelfth, and fifteenth *Iters* of Antoninus; and I have no doubt that Old Sarum is the place referred to. But I may remind the Association that there is an amount of discrepancy in these *Iters* which would make the name equally applicable to any well marked Roman station a few miles distant either on one side or the other. The *Notitia* and *Ravennas* are both silent on the subject; for the assertion of Horsley that the “*Arda-oneon*” of the latter is identical with *Sorbiodunum*, can hardly carry much weight in the absence of all corroborative testimony. Lastly, the very doubtful Richard of Cirencester, whose authority was probably Antoninus, mentions *Sorbiodunum* as garrisoned by a Roman force, and as being a town under Latian law, or one of the third rank in importance, according to his classification. In some monastic writers, Old Sarum is called “*Severia*”, and in others, “*Cæsariburgum*”. A great deal of ingenuity has been displayed in explaining the origin of these appellations; I think to little purpose, as no one can account for the Latin conceits of the monkish authors in the time of the Henries and the Edwards, without at least an amount of labour which the result never repays.

In Romano-British times the documentary information again entirely fails us. Sarum cannot be recognized as one of the towns in Nennius. Archbishop Usher, indeed, thinks that it is represented by *Caer Carantæ* or *Caradoc*, and in this he is followed by our esteemed associate, Mr. Beale Poste; but, I am afraid, on very insufficient grounds. In fact, I believe that the very Welsh *Triad* on which Mr. Poste relies, completely negatives the possibility of the places being identical. In it, *Caer Caradoc* is described as situated in *Llogreia*. Now the term *Logriens* is one most familiar to the students of the early northern British bards. In the lays of *Taliessin* *Lywarch* and *Aneurin*, the word is constantly used as synonymous with the forces of the kings of Saxon Northumberland. In fact, they were the British tribes who submitted to the rule of *Ida*, and occupied the country of Northumberland and the bishopric of Durham with parts of Westmoreland and the North Riding, and perhaps portions of the more midland counties. There is, however, another *Triad*, which certainly appears to establish a connexion between *Caer Caradoc* and *Stonehenge*, viz., “the three chief *Cuv-van-cor* of *Innes Pridain* are three,—the *Bangor* of warrior *Itiel*, in *Caer Worgorn*; the *cor* of *Emris*, in *Caer Caradoc*; and the *Gwidrin Bangor*, in *Inis Avelon*.” On this the late archdeacon of Cardigan¹ remarks: “*Caer Caradoc* is undoubtedly the stupendous British work which still crowns the height on which *Old Saron*, the city of the *Saronidæ*, once stood, and within which was erected the *Cor Emris* representing the NAME ALONE of the Druidical temple.” Notwithstanding the well-known preeminence of archdeacon Williams as a Celtic antiquary, and the respect and veneration which I entertain for him in common with all his pupils, truth compels me to point out the fallacy contained in this quotation. The *Cor Emrys* is not, as usually supposed, *Stonehenge*; it is not even an entity, but only a *nominis umbra*. If so, why should *Caer Caradoc* be at *Sarum*, and not among the *Logriens* of the north, as stated in the other *Triad*. Mr. Poste, however, ingeniously suggests that, in consequence of the threatening position of the Saxons, *Stonehenge* was abandoned between the years 510 and 522, and the assemblies, religious or otherwise, held there, removed within the ramparts of *Old Sarum* for protection. There is nothing,

¹ Archdeacon Williams' *Essays*, p. 355.

however, to support this conjecture. Within the precincts of old Sarum there is nothing which can for a moment be supposed to be, in the most distant degree, analogous to Stonehenge; and it certainly seems strange that the British poet should advert to an unfortunate period of Celtic history, when the chief temple of the nation was abandoned, and its priests obliged to worship with maimed rites in the interior of a fortress continually threatened by the enemy, and not to the more glorious one when the wonderful structure of Stonehenge was occupied by them in the full exercise of their ritual, and the Cor Emrys was the pride of the nation. As to the Welsh *Triads*, however, the more I have occasion to consult them, the more am I convinced of the little dependence that can be placed on them as historical records. They confessedly were composed centuries after the era of the heroes to whom they in most cases refer; and are, I am convinced, nothing more than an arbitrary jumble of some mere nominal traditions, corrupted by the individual fancies of their authors.

It has been asserted that the *Saxon Chronicle* records that, in the year 552, Cynric took a town from the Britons, which is identified by its Saxon name of Searburg with Old Sarum. This, however, is a mistake: the *Chronicle* does nothing of the kind. Its words are: "This year Cynric fought against the Britons, at the place which is called Searobyrig; and he put the Bretwalas to flight." In some manuscripts the name is given as Searoburh, and in others as Saelerberi. It is clear that here the place is spoken of as existing, not at the date mentioned, but at that when the *Chronicle* was written, at least five hundred years later. There is no mention of the capture of any town; and this omission is worthy of remark, as immediately after, under the years 571 and 577, such a circumstance is pointedly referred to in the *Chronicle*. This interpretation of the passage is confirmed by all the later authors who followed the *Saxon Chronicle* as their guide, such as Ethelwerd, Florence of Worcester, Geoffrey Gaimar, etc. Henry of Huntingdon even goes further, for he seems to infer that the place was, at the time of this battle, within the possessions of the Saxons, upon whom the Britons made an inroad.

In Saxon times, the evidence of the site being that of a city of importance, flows so strong and clear that the only

difficulty becomes one of selection: indeed, the mere enumeration of the notices referring to this period, would otherwise overrun the necessary limits of this paper. Those in the *Saxon Chronicle*, and the authors following it, have been already adverted to. I may add, however, that there is in Henry of Huntingdon a curious list of the sees of England, with the most striking features of each:

“Batha lacu. Salesberia feris. Cantuaria pisces.
Eberacum silves. Excesteria clara metallis.”

The *Monasticon* relates that Old Sarum was a favourite resort of king Egbert. Geoffrey Gaimar records a court held there by Edgar, when—

“Mult i assembla, grant baronage,
Meint baron i vint de hault parage.”

In the *Antiquitates Sariburienses* several charters of this period are quoted,—one by which Ida, king of the West Saxons, grants (about 720) certain lands to the church of St. James in Sarisbury; and his wife, Ethelbringa, others to the nuns of St. Mary. Another in 1060, by which Editha, widow of king Edward, makes a similar grant to the same convent. The most important of these documents is, however, an order by king Alfred, in 872, which is translated as follows: “I, Alfred, king and monarch of the English, have commanded earl Leofric of Wiltunshire, not only to preserve the castle of Sarum, but to make another ditch, to be defended by palisadoes.” How valuable would every word of this be, in the explanation of the system of fortification adopted by the Saxons, if we could only obtain the original; but I have entirely failed in doing so. It is recited in *Ancient Wiltshire*, where it is said to be established by manuscripts in the Bodleian and Cottonian libraries; but no references are given. In the earlier *Antiquitates Sariburienses*, the Bodleian is only quoted. The authorities of the latter have, with their usual courtesy, exerted themselves to trace the document, but without success. I have myself examined most carefully the catalogues of the Cottonian, with the like result. The order is, however, so pointedly referred to in both works, that I can hardly conceive it to be entirely a myth, and trust that it may yet be discovered in some forgotten nook. Will some of our energetic Wiltshire members

turn their attention to this matter? There is also abundant evidence that Sarum was an object worthy of the cupidity of the Danes, and that Sweyn ravaged it about A.D. 1003.

The same superabundance of evidence meets us in regard to its importance in Norman times. William the Conqueror held a most important court there almost immediately after the establishment of his rule. In the succeeding reign the episcopal see was transferred to Sarum from Sherborne, in the time of bishop Herman. The cathedral church, however, was erected by bishop Osmund and his successor. At this period we meet with a charter, granted in 1091, by the bishop, and confirmed by the king, by which there is conveyed to the church the tithes of Salisbury, two hides and a half of land in that town, six hides and a half in Stratford, and "before the gate of the castle, the lands on both sides the way, for gardens and houses for the cannons." At this time it would appear that part of the fortified area was held by the clergy, and the remainder by the castellan. The consequence of this division was frequent disputes, and the removal of the cathedral to its present site. There does not appear to exist any direct evidence as to the period when Old Sarum was abandoned as a military post; but this is not unusual in the case of similar strongholds.

Another class of evidence which often enables us to determine the nation and tribe by which a fortification has been constructed or occupied, is that afforded by coins and other reliques of antiquity discovered within, or in the close vicinity of, its entrenchments. In the case of Old Sarum this presents a remarkable coherence with the documentary history. Of the early British period, only one article has been referred to Old Sarum; and that, I am afraid, on anything but conclusive grounds. It is a gold coin, to which our attention was called by our esteemed associate, Mr. Bergne, to whose kindness I am indebted for the following description of it: "It reads on the *obv.*, TAS, around a figure on horseback; on the *rev.* are the letters VER (no doubt Verulum), almost hidden among various ornaments. The coin is engraved in Akerman's *Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes*, 1846, plate XXII, No. 7, and forms lot 233 in the sale catalogue of Mr. Cuff's collection." It is now in the British Museum. The evidence as to its having been discovered at Old Sarum, Mr. Bergne also was so obliging as to give me

in the following most candid terms: "My friend, the late Mr. Cuff, told me it was found at Old Sarum; and I conclude he was so informed when he purchased it: but where or when he bought it, I am unable to tell you." I am afraid that this cannot be considered as sufficient to establish the place where this coin was discovered. The whole matter rests on the assertion of the unknown person who sold it to Mr. Cuff; and the Association has had too many proofs that, under the present unsatisfactory state of the law as to treasure trove, it has been, in the case of articles of the precious metals, the rule rather than the exception, to assign a false locality to the discovery. I may add that, even if we were fully assured that it was found at Old Sarum, the discovery of this solitary British coin would be no conclusive proof of the fortress having been occupied by that nation. There is nothing improbable in supposing it part of his plunder, accidentally dropped by a Roman legionary. Indeed, as I have already pointed out to the Association,¹ the class of evidence we are now considering cannot be depended upon unless it be of such a nature as enables us to eliminate every contradictory probability. This, however, appears to be the case as to the Roman occupation of Old Sarum. The number of coins and other articles belonging to this nation, which have been found, and the manner in which they are scattered over the whole interior of the fortification, negative every supposition but that of a long possession of the fortress by this people. The series of Roman coins recorded in the *Antiquitates Sariburienses* as having been found within the earthworks of Old Sarum, is very extensive, comprising those of Hadrian, Severus, Carausius, Flavius, Constantinus, Julianus, Valentinianus, Theodosius, and Honorius. Silver Lares and a leaden Diana were also discovered. Saxon coins, including those of Cerdic and Edgar, have also been frequently met with; and a leaden piece was picked up, of uncertain date, but which most probably was one of those struck for ecclesiastical purposes, and generally known as pilgrims' tokens. These facts appear to establish the conclusion that, although there is abundant proof of the occupation of Old Sarum by the Romans, and also by the Saxons and other tribes who succeeded that nation in the sovereignty of the island, there is no trustworthy evidence that it ever was a

¹ See *Journal*, vol. for 1857. "Cissbury Camps."

settlement or military post of the earlier Britons; and this is strongly corroborated by the features of the earthworks which constitute the fortress.

Those members of the Association who attended the Norfolk Congress, must have at once recognized in the defences and ramparts of Old Sarum an interesting specimen of that type of fortification of which so many beautiful examples were met with in that county, consisting of a mount or citadel with one or more external enclosures. The forms of the mounts vary, from a perfect cone, through one more or less truncated, to that of a hollow crater. The citadel of Old Sarum, like that of Castle Rising, is of this last form: indeed, these two important fortresses differ only in the unimportant point, that, in the former the external defences consist of only one circular enclosure, while in the latter we find them surrounding two independent areas on the opposite sides of the citadel, through which lies the only communication between them. This difference, however, may be accounted for by the dissimilarity of the natural features in the two sites. Having, in a paper printed in the last volume of the *Journal*, discussed this type of fortification at great length, and fully explained my reasons for holding that it originated in post-Roman, and probably in Saxon times, and commenced by the conversion into military posts, of moats or mounds erected for sepulchral purposes at a much earlier period, I shall on the present occasion abstain from any recapitulation, and merely direct the attention of the Association to a piece of evidence strongly corroborative of my views, which I have met with since the paper referred to was published.

In the tenth volume of our *Journal* there is, on plate 2, fig. 24, a plan of a Lanarkshire camp of the most abnormal shape. At the time the paper in which this is contained was written, it was not in my power to visit personally this fortification, and I had, in consequence, to entrust the survey of it to a friend. In the course of last autumn I had to pass it, when I was struck with its appearance, which conveyed to my mind the suspicion that some great error had occurred in regard to it. A subsequent visit to the spot completely confirmed this conjecture, and shewed me that its character had been entirely mistaken, and that it was a small but most perfect specimen of the type of earthwork we are now con-

sidering,—all the more interesting that it was the only specimen of this class of fortification I had ever met with in Scotland.

Plate 26, fig. 1, gives, in a reduced form, an accurate plan of it, prepared under my own eye by corporal Render of the Ordnance Survey staff. It was with extreme satisfaction I hailed this discovery. The immense dimensions of the central mounds in this class of fortress, and still more, the fact that in later times they became the sites of the dungeon keeps of Norman fortresses, forbid, in almost every case, any attempt at excavation; and it is only by some accident like that which occurred at Lewes, that we can expect their contents to be discovered, and their true nature revealed. The manageable size of this Lanarkshire example, therefore, presented a most rare opportunity for actual experiment, of which I immediately determined to avail myself; accordingly, after obtaining the consent of sir Thos. Edward Colebrooke, M.P., the proprietor of the ground, which was granted with that gentleman's usual kindness and liberality, I proceeded, last May, to excavate the mound in this camp. A pit was sunk at the distance of seventeen feet from its northern extremity. (See plan.) At the depth of three feet, pieces of charcoal were found mixed with the earth. As we descended, these increased in number, and became mingled with traces of animal matter, till at the depth of six feet we found the original soil, which was covered with similar remains to the height of several inches, leaving no room for doubt that it was the place where an incineration had taken place, and at once establishing the sepulchral origin of the mound.

Fortified by this experimental proof of the soundness of my views, I have no hesitation in stating my conviction that, in the earthworks of Old Sarum, we have no trace whatever of any early British fortress, and that the citadel is of comparatively recent date: indeed, the crater-shaped form of these central keeps marks, in my opinion, the very latest examples of this type of fortification. It originated in the adaptation of a pre-existent sepulchral mound. When, however, this class of fortress was found well adapted to the tactics of the day, attempts would be made to create such citadels where no prior erection was found convenient for the purpose; and in doing so every plan would be resorted

to which promised to save labour, consistently with the due attainment of the end in view; and for this purpose nothing could be better adapted than the hollow or crater-form of mount. For this and other reasons, I am inclined to place the construction of the Old Sarum citadel nearly as late as the reign of Alfred.

The exterior rampart (see fig. 2) is of a much earlier date, although we no longer see it in its original form; and it is in this alteration that I find the most interesting and curious feature of the Old Sarum earthworks. No one acquainted with Roman fortification could for an instant doubt that the outwork in front of the east gate was the work of that nation; but at the same time no one ever saw in their encampments a rampart possessing the same features as that which surrounds Old Sarum. I do not recollect, in my considerable experience, ever meeting with so complete a puzzle; and it was only after a second visit, and the most minute examination of the ground, that I was successful in obtaining the key to it. This was afforded by the observation that the hill had been scarped beyond and below the rampart on the outside of the ditch, and that the line of this escarpment was different from that presented by the upper works as they at present appear. On referring to the sections of the entrenchments, this fact was confirmed; and it at once became evident that the hill had been originally defended by a simple escarpment, in the face of which a ditch had been subsequently dug, and the earth thrown to the outside. This will be better understood by referring to the section, fig. 3, where the line represents the face of fortifications in their present state, and the dotted line that of the original scarp. It will be observed that the space between the lines of the escarpment, and that of the present ditch, is exactly equal to that by which its outer edge rises above the same, shewing that the earth dug out of the former was equivalent to that thrown up on the latter. The moment, however, we reduce the original form of the entrenchment to a simple scarp, it becomes that of a well-known Roman type, of which the Association had the pleasure of inspecting a very fine example, during the Somerset Congress, at Solsbury, near Bath.

Under these circumstances, I entertain no doubt that when Old Sarum was occupied by the Romans, its defences

consisted of a simple circular escarpment with outworks at the gates; and that the inner citadel, and the ditch on the face of the scarp, were added by the Saxons. It might, however, be going too far to assert that the latter was the ditch constructed under the orders of Alfred, although there is nothing else around the fortress which can possibly answer the description.

ON THE SARUM TONALE:

A MS. IN THE LIBRARY OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER
OF SALISBURY.

BY J. LAMBERT, ESQ., MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF ST. CECILIA.

As soon as I was informed of the intention of the British Archæological Association to hold their Congress at Salisbury, I was induced, from a desire that no object of interest should escape their notice during their visit to a city with which I am connected by so many close ties and pleasant associations, to mention to Mr. Pettigrew the existence of a very rare manuscript volume in the cathedral library, in relation to the choral services of the middle ages; and at his request I now subjoin the following short description of it, although, in justice to myself, I ought to state that, not having the work at hand to refer to, I write chiefly from recollection; aided, however, by an extract which I made from it when it was kindly lent to me by the dean and chapter some years ago.

The entire MS. consists of two distinct parts, evidently written at different periods. The first part, which comprises the greater portion of the volume, contains a series of minute instructions for conducting the various services throughout the year, together with examples of the intonations to be sung by the priest and cantors, and the notation for the responses of the choir. In it will be found also the music for the Litany, the celebrated chant for the Lamentations, which were sung in Passion week; the tunes of some of the

hymns in their festal and ferial forms; and the primitive melody of the Nicene Creed, which is probably almost as ancient as the text itself. There are several other musical features worthy of examination; but I must pass them over in furtherance of my desire to direct especial attention to the treatise described as the *TONALE*, which occupies the second section of the volume.

By the word *Tonale* is meant a book descriptive of the ecclesiastical modes or scales upon which the Gregorian music is founded; and the learned prince-abbot, Martin Gerbert, in his *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica* (vol. ii, p. 265), has published a MS. of the thirteenth century bearing that title, which is attributed to St. Bernard; but it is quite different, both in its method and composition, from the *Tonale* of Sarum. The former is thrown into the form of a dialogue between a master and student, and is partially based upon the division of the scale into tetrachords, as used by the Greeks; whilst the latter is in the nature of a consecutive treatise, and describes the several notes of the gamut by reference to the system of hexachords,—supposed, but erroneously, to have been invented by the celebrated Guido d'Arrezzo in the tenth century.

Besides the work of St. Bernard, Gerbert has published a MS. of the eleventh or twelfth century, described as the *Tonarius* of Berno, a monk of that period; which likewise explains the construction of the several modes or scales upon the system of tetrachords; and further, shews how each tone consists of a perfect fifth and fourth, to which principle the Salisbury MS. makes no reference whatever. It is, therefore, totally distinct from the *Tonale* of St. Bernard and the *Tonarius* of Berno; and, from the fact of its not having been published by Gerbert, I infer that no copy of it is known to exist in any of the libraries on the continent. Indeed, judging from the well-known celebrity of the Sarum choir, originating with its sainted founder, bishop Osmund, I am disposed to think that the MS. under consideration was a local compilation, made for the special use of the cathedral of Salisbury; an opinion somewhat strengthened by the introductory words of the treatise itself, viz., “*incipit Tonale secundum usum Sarum et universalis ecclesiæ.*”

The plan of the *Tonale* is very simple. It treats of the eight modes in succession, beginning with the first: describes

their scale and compass, and illustrates the manner in which the various compositions in each mode are found to commence, by reference to the antiphons and other musical pieces of the liturgical books. Thus the explanation of the first mode begins as follows:

“Primus tonus in *de-sol-re* finitur, habens elevationem a sua finali litterâ usque at *de-la sol-re* vel octavam acutam, et aliquando ad nonam vel *e-la-mi* acutam, et aliquando ad decimam vel *ef-fa-ut* acutam, auctoritate Psalmistæ, qui ait, ‘In Psalterio de accordo psallite illi,’ et sub finali literâ descendens regulariter in *ce-fa-ut*, irregulariter in *be-mi*, et aliquando in *a-re*, sed raro ut in his antiphonis, ‘Montes Gelboæ’, et ‘Specialis Virgo’ in Purificationem.”¹

In order that the peculiar notation referred to in the foregoing passage may be understood, it is necessary to state that, during the later period of the middle ages, music was taught upon a peculiar system, known as that of *nuances*, from the French word *muer* (to change), which consisted in the transposition of the hexachord, or scale of six successive notes, adopted by Guido, viz., *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, to different positions on the diatonic scale, taking care, nevertheless, to preserve the relative distances of the notes themselves; so that, commencing with the first hexachord on gamut *g*, the syllable *fa* would fall upon the *c* above; and that note being the commencement of the second hexachord, was also designated by the syllable *ut*; so that the *c* which now occupies the second space of the modern bass clef, was known as *c-fa-ut*; and the next note, *d*, being the fifth of the first hexachord, and the *re* of the second, was designated as *d-sol-re*. When, therefore, the first tone is described as ending on *d-sol-re*, the *d* on the third line of the bass clef is the final note intended; and by the term, *d-la-sol-re*, the octave *d* above is indicated, because that note formed the *la* of the third hexachord beginning on *f*; the *sol* of the fourth on *g*, and the *re* of the fifth, starting from the *c* above.

It will be obvious to the most casual observer that the

¹ The first tone has its ending on *d-sol-re*, ascending from its final note to *d-la-sol-re*, or the octave above; and sometimes to the ninth, or *e-la-mi*; and sometimes to the tenth, or *f-fa-ut*, according to the authority of the Psalmist, who says, “Sing to him with one accord on the psaltery”; and descending regularly below its final note to *c-fa-ut*, but irregularly to *b-mi*; and sometimes, though seldom, to *a-re*, as in the anthems beginning with the words “Montes Gelboæ”, and “Specialis Virgo”, on the festival of the Purification.

system of hexachords was a departure from the primitive simplicity of the diatonic scale; but in the practice of *mutances* we find the germs of the art of modern transposition. And it is worthy of remark that many of the earlier masters of counterpoint indicated the key of their compositions by applying to the key-note the same terms as are used in the *Tonale*: thus, by a “fugue or canon in *e-la-mi*”, was meant a fugue or canon in the key of *e*.

I cannot dismiss the passage which I have given from the *Tonale* without alluding to the quotation from the Psalms, by which the author seeks to justify the exclusion of the scale of the first mode to the tenth above its final, for the purpose of explaining that its quaint application is probably due to the supposed fact that the psaltery was an instrument consisting of ten strings or notes!

As a purely scientific treatise on the eight ecclesiastical modes, the Salisbury MS. is not of great value, inasmuch as it merely indicates the compass of the several scales, without explaining either the general principles upon which they are founded, or their relative characteristics; and even in regard to the extent of each scale, it is not always accurate, as may be seen from the passage already quoted, in which the first mode is described as sometimes descending to notes which, according to all the best authorities, are quite foreign to it. Another circumstance which detracts from the value of the MS., is, that one or two leaves are missing from it.

In spite, however, of these defects, the *Sarum Tonale* possesses peculiar interest, not only as being *unique* of its kind, but also as furnishing a clear and simple explanation, in a practical way, of the system upon which the instruction of the cathedral choir was based prior to the introduction of modern music; and for these reasons I think it ought not to escape the notice of the British Archaeological Association, although I feel that the claims of the work itself are made known to them by the present paper in a very feeble and unsatisfactory manner.

ON ANCIENT SPINDLES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

THAT the art of spinning is of high antiquity cannot be questioned, as it is an art essential to the comfort, convenience, and necessities of man. We read in the book of Exodus (xxxv, 25, 26) that, at the building of the tabernacle, "all the women that were wise-hearted did *spin* with their hands, and brought that which they had spun, of blue, of purple, of scarlet, and of fine linen. And all the women whose heart stirred them up in wisdom, *spun* goat's hair." Solomon declares that "a virtuous woman", whose "price is far above rubies, seeketh wool and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands: she layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff." (*Prov.* xxxi, 13, 19.)

The paintings and implements discovered in Egypt attest the art of spinning to have been extensively practised by its ancient people; and in the British Museum may be seen several Theban spindles, of wood, varying from nine inches to upwards of a foot in length, to one of which is still attached a skein of thread. The spindle and distaff were familiar objects in the hands of the Grecian females. Homer and Pindar attribute golden distaffs to goddesses; and golden spindles were, according to Homer (*Od.* iv, 131) and Herodotus (iv, 162) sent as costly gifts to ladies of exalted rank; and it must not be forgotten that the twenty-eighth idyl of Theocritus was composed on sending an ivory distaff to a friend's wife. Catullus (lxiv, 305-319) has left a minute description of the spinning process, applicable to almost every age and country. We find that the prepared wool or flax, after being rolled up, was placed on the end of the *colus* or distaff, the lower part of which was either stuck in the girdle on the left side, or else held in the left hand. The *stamina*, or fibres, were drawn out and spirally twisted with the right hand, and the end of the thread so produced was fixed in the *dens* or notch at the apex of the *fusus* or spindle, so that the weight of the instrument continually carried down the stamen as it was formed. The *verticillus*, or *turbo* (as it is sometimes called), and which is now known as the wharrow,

whorl, or whirl, placed at the lower part of the *fusus*, kept the instrument more steady, and promoted the rotation imparted to it by the spinner, who occasionally twirled it round with her right hand, so that the thread became more tightly twisted. When the thread grew so long that it reached the ground, it was taken from the *dens*, wound round the *fusus*, and a fresh portion placed in it; and so the process went on till the *fusus* was full, when the thread was broken from the *colus*, and rolled into a *glomus* or ball. The foregoing account is well illustrated by a bas-relief on the Forum of Nerva at Rome, whereon is a seated female in the act of spinning; and also in a mosaic in the Capitol at Rome; and on some ancient gems, where Hercules is seen with the *colus* and *fusus* of the beloved Omphale.

Let us now see whether we can discover any evidence of the use of the distaff and spindle among the ancient tribes of the Britannic islands. The similitude of the names of materials, implements, etc., employed in spinsty in the Irish, Chaldee, and Hebrew tongues, seem to indicate that the art was introduced into Ireland at a remote period by an eastern people, who were in all probability the Fenians or Phœnicians. And there have been exhumed in many parts of Ireland what are called "fairy mill-stones", i.e., flat discs of stone and slate with central perforations, which are now regarded as the whorls of spindles: one of stone, discovered in a tumulus in county Kerry, is mentioned in our *Journal* (iii, 65); eight from different places in King's county and Tipperary, are in the British Museum; and I possess three examples from Ireland, one of which was found at Fiddown in county Kilkenny in 1824. It is wrought of a piece of grauwacke, one inch and a half in diameter, and three-eighths thick, decorated on each side, towards the edge, with a few slight punctures arranged at equal distances. The majority of the flat stone whorls met with in Ireland undoubtedly belong to the bronze or Celtic period; but some may have continued to be used in the iron era, for whorls of wood, bone, and slate, were discovered at Dunshaughlin, county Meath, in 1840, mingled with human and animal remains, and arms and implements of iron.

Stone whorls similar to those of Ireland, have been found

¹ Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis, vol. iii, No. xii, p. 554.

² For some account of this discovery, see *Gent. Mag.*, Sept. 1840, p. 295.

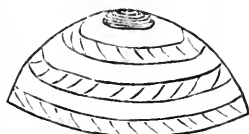
in Scotland and the Hebrides (where they are known as "pixy wheels"), and also in this country. In the Cymbric language the distaff was called *cogel* and *cogeilyn*; the spindle, *gwerthyd*; and the whorl, *chwerfan*.

Among the Roman antiquities exhumed at Alchester, Oxon, and described in the *Journal* for June 1856, p. 177, is the *verticillus*, or whorl, of a *fuscus*, of fine grey terra-cotta; and the *reliquiæ* brought to light in London offer incontestable proofs that the Romano-British inhabitants of the old city employed much time in spinstry. The *fusi* and *verticilli* here found are both of wood and bone.

In the *Nenia Britannica*, pl. xv, fig. 7, is an object, rather above one inch and three-quarters in diameter, described as a circular piece of bone turned in a lathe, ornamented with circles and perforated in the centre. And in plate 21, fig. 9, of the same work, is another piece of turned bone, two inches in diameter, with the convex face decorated round the perforation with seven eyelet-holes, and beyond these with circles. This specimen was found in a barrow at Baggrave, in Leicestershire. I possess a disc, evidently for the same purpose with those from Anglo-Saxon interments, which was recovered from the Thames in December 1847. It is of bone turned in the lathe, flat on one face, and convex on the other, where it is decorated with a ring near its edge: it measures an inch and a half in diameter. All these specimens have been regarded as buttons, to be employed with loops upon the dress; but from their general resemblance to the *verticilli* of the Romans, etc., there can be no doubt that they are really spindle whorls, and highly interesting examples of the Anglo-Saxon *hwæorfa*. Spindle whorls of terra-cotta have also been met with in Teutonic barrows. They are generally of a more hemispherical form than those of bone, and scored with bands and criss-cross and diagonal lines.

Our attention is now directed to a very singular spindle whorl exhibited by Mr. T. Chapman, and by him discovered in Norfolk about the middle of February 1857, the ornamentation of which agrees so well with that seen on the Saxon whorls of terra-cotta, that we are justified in assigning it to the Saxon era. It is of greyish black slate, flat on one face, and graven with three circles; convex on the other, whereon are three circular bands filled with diagonal lines.

It is one inch and three-eighths in diameter, and five-eighths thick, the central perforation being about five-sixteenths in diameter. This curious Saxon *hweorfa* bears a marked resemblance to the ancient spindle whorls discovered in the tombs of Mexico, of which I have an example. This *tosca*, as it is called in Mexico, is of black slate, one inch and five-eighths diameter, and eleven sixteenths thick. The flat side is unadorned; but the convex face is graven with circles above and below, united by perpendicular bands, the intervening spaces being filled with neatly executed cross-hatchings. When we place the Norfolk *hweorfa* and Mexican *tosca* in juxtaposition, we might almost fancy that they owed their origin to the same people; but the slates out of which they are wrought differ much in character. It may be well to observe that the ancient Mexicans, like the Romans and Saxons, had spindle whorls of terra-cotta as well as of stone, which are richly decorated with fanciful devices; and from the quantity discovered with the remains of children, as well as with those of adults, we may conclude that spinsty was a favourite employment among all ages in the land of Anahuac.¹



Spinsty was held in high esteem during the middle ages. St. Catharine was the patroness of the art and its votaries; and the implements used in the craft had the 7th of January set apart in their honour, called St. Distaff's day, or Rock day. The sports then practised by the rustics are recorded in Herrick's *Hesperides*, p. 374.

The instruments of spinsty were borne in procession before a newly-married bride: hence we are told in Northbrooke's *Treatise on Dicing, Dancing, etc.* (1577, p. 58), that "In olde time (we reade) there was usually caried before the mayde, when she shoulde be maried, and came to dwell in hir husbandes house, a distaffe charged with flaxe, and a

¹ In the United Service Museum is a spindle from Sarayocu, river Ucayali, South America, the whorl of which is a truncated cone of bone; and in the London Missionary Museum are three slender spindles with wooden whorls, from Madagascar. A spindle whorl in clay, in size and ornamentation similar to Mr. Chapman's specimen, is figured in the introduction (p. xlii) to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*. Other examples from the Faussett collection have been engraved by Mr. C. R. Smith, in the same work, on pp 87, 131, 151. The suggestion as to the object of these relics, is attributed to Mr. J. Y. Akerman, who was the first to suspect their real purpose.

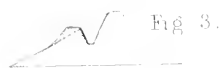
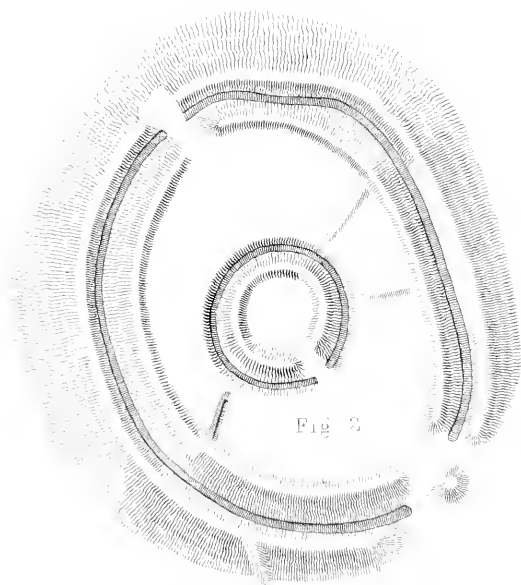
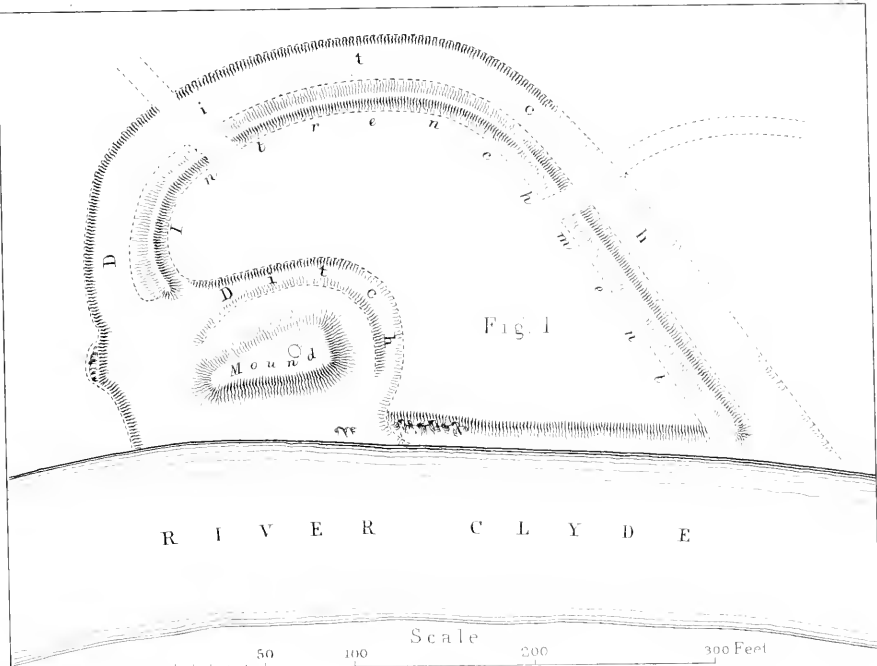
spyndle hanging at it; to the intente that shee might bee myndefull to lyve by hir labour." And it is said to have once been the custom to throw the distaff and spindle into the grave when a female was buried.¹

Representations of the distaff and spindle frequently occur in early sculptures and old manuscripts. We may instance those on the Norman font in East Meon church, Hampshire, and in a Cottonian MS. (Nero, c. iv) of the thirteenth century; in both of which Eve is seen receiving the distaff from an angel, and actively at work in spinning thread. On one of the seats of the knights of the Bath, in Henry VII's chapel at Westminster, is carved a woman belabouring a monk with a heavy distaff. The process of spinstry is well exhibited in the painting (discovered in Carpenter's Hall, and given in our *Journal* (i, 281, plate 3); and the form of the old spindle is shewn in the heraldic bearings of the Hobys, Knowells, Trefuses, and other families. A magnificently carved distaff, of the close of the sixteenth century, is preserved in the British Museum; and a nearly similar specimen may be seen in the South Kensington Museum; but of the mediæval spindle, or its whorl, I know not where to find a single example, common as it must once have been to every grade of society. But though the spinning-wheel and spinning-jenny have long since struck the distaff and the spindle from the hands of the mighty dame and the lowly peasant, the recollection of their former use is ever present to the mind in the legal phrase of *spinster* for an unwedded female,—a name which will endure for ages, enshrined as it is in the works of Shakespeare, who, in his *Twelfth Night* (ii, 4) tells us of—

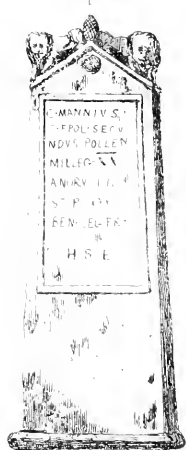
"The spinsters and the knitters in the sun,
And the free maids that weave their thread with bones."

¹ The same is related by Pliny, lib. viii, c. 18.





Earthworks in Abington Lanarkshire, and Old Sarum



Roman inscriptions found at Wroxeter.

URICONIUM.

BY THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., F.S.A.

SECOND ARTICLE.—THE INSCRIPTIONS.

I HAVE already stated that the road which passes by the present excavations is commonly known by the name of the Watling-street road, and there can be little doubt that it occupies the site of one of the principal streets of the ancient city. At a short distance to the north of the excavations, where several roads branch off, the Watling-street road turns a little to the east, by the side of a smith's shop, and becomes a deep and pleasant country lane, crossing the Bell Brook by a little stone bridge at the bottom of the bank, and then rising up a rather gentler bank on the other side. At the top of this other bank the ancient town wall crossed this road, and here foundations of one of the principal gateways of the city of Uriconium are said to have been found. A little beyond this gateway, the fields to the right of the road take the form of a low bank, which is continued for some distance. This appears to have been the site of the principal cemetery of the Roman town,—the “Street of the Tombs” of Uriconium. The sepulchres of the dead probably occupied both sides of the road; but it is only on the right hand, or eastern side, that any important discoveries have been made, and those were the result of accident.

In the year 1752, men employed in digging a drain on the side of the bank just alluded to, found the three inscribed stones represented at the top of our plate (pl. 27, figs. 1, 2, and 3). They are now carefully preserved in the library of Shrewsbury school. The first two, we are told, had been fastened by tenons into mortices cut into other stones that lay flat within, and they had been buried into the ground up to the tablets containing the inscriptions. The first of these inscriptions may be read without any difficulty, as follows:

C . MANNIVS
C . F . POL . SECV
NDVS . POLLEN
MIL . LEG . XX
ANORV . LII
STIP . XXXI
BEN . LEG . PR
H . S . E .

*Caius Mannius,
Caii filius, Pollia, Secu
ndus, Pollentia,
miles legionis XX,
annorum LII,
stipendiorum XXXI,
beneficiarius legati principalis,
hic situs est.*

It should probably be translated, "Caius Mannius Secundus, son of Caius, of the Pollian tribe, of Pollentia, a soldier of the twentieth legion, fifty-two years of age, having served thirty-one years, a beneficiary of the principal legate, lies here."¹

The second of our inscriptions, which has been already discussed in my former article, may be read as follows :

M . PETRONIVS	Marcus Petronius,
L . F . MEN	Lucii filius, Menenia,
VIC . ANN	vixit annis
XXXVIII	XXXVIII,
MIL . LEG	miles legionis
XIIII . GEM	XIIII geminae,
MILITAVIT	militavit
ANN . XVIII	annis XVIII,
SIGN . FVIT	signifer fuit,
H . S . E .	hic situs est.

It may be translated, "Marcus Petronius, son of Lucius, of the Menenian tribe, lived thirty-eight years, a soldier of the fourteenth legion called Gemina; he served as a soldier eighteen years, and was a standard-bearer; he lies here." It must be remarked that the sixth line is now almost defaced by the fracture of the stone; and not only has the x entirely disappeared, but the space would allow of xx.

Our third inscription is, perhaps, the most curious of them all, because it has been the ground of some rather considerable errors, arising partly from its not very perfect condition. It is divided into three columns or compartments, as will be seen in the engraving, the first of which appears to be as follows :

D . M	<i>Diis Manibus.</i>
PLACIDA	Placida,
AN . LV	annorum LV,
CVR . AG	curam agente
CONI . A	conjugē annorum
XXX.	XXX.

I.e., "To the gods of the Manes. Placida, aged fifty-five;

¹ In the interpretation of this inscription I adopt the suggestions of Dr. M'Caul, the president of University College, Toronto, who has communicated to the *Canadian Journal*, during the past year, a series of papers upon Latin inscriptions found in Britain, which are well worthy of the attention of our antiquaries. Dr. M'Caul remarks, upon one of the terms employed in this inscription, "The word 'principal', as ordinarily used in English, does not convey the meaning of *principalis* as applied to a Roman soldier. The Latin term means that the person so styled was one of the *principales*, a designation given to sub-officers or officials, in contradistinction to *munifices* or *gregarii*, which denoted the common soldiers or privates. (*Vide Veget. de Re Militari*, ii, c. 7.)"

raised by the care of her husband, who had been her husband thirty years."

Former antiquaries have misinterpreted CVR.AC, as standing for *curator agrorum*, and have thus created a municipal officer unknown from any other authority. The error has been pointed out by Dr. McCaul in the paper already alluded to; and it cannot be doubted that he is in the right. There may be some doubt with regard to the last two lines, as they are rather indistinct; but we shall perhaps be justified in retaining the A at the end of the fifth line, and the XXX in the sixth line, because, when the stone was first found, and the copy of the inscription made, these letters may have been more distinct than they are now.

The second column of this inscription may be read—

D . M
DEVCCV
S . AN . XV
CVR . AG
RATRE.

Dīs Manibus.
Deuccu
s, annorum XV,
curam agente
fratre.

I.e., "To the gods of the Manes. Deuccus, aged fifteen years; raised by the care of his brother." It has been suggested that the R at the beginning of the last line is a P (*patre*); in which case it was the father of Deuccus, the husband of Placida, who had also buried his young son, and who thus might have left the third column blank for the reception of his own name, when he should be laid beside his family. But the stone seems to present distinctly an R; and we may suppose that Deuccus had an elder brother, and that, dying while his father was perhaps absent or dead in some distant region, he was buried by his brother's care instead of that of his father.

Another inscribed stone (fig. 4 of our plate), but more broken than the others, was found, in 1810, on the side of the same bank which furnished the three others, and is preserved with them in the library of Shrewsbury school. It may be read without much difficulty:

TIB . CLAVD . TER
NTIVS . EQ . COH
THRACVM . AN
ORYM . LVII . STIP
ENDIORVM
H . S.

Tiberius Claudius Teren-
tius, eques cohortis
Thracum, ann
orum LVII, stip
endiorum
hic situs est.

I.e., "Tiberius Claudius Terentius, a horseman of the cohort

of Thracians, aged fifty-seven years, having served —, lies here.” The letters which indicated the length of this man’s service are no longer visible on the stone, which has suffered much injury. It has been assumed from this inscription, that the cohort of Thracian cavalry belonged to Uriconium; but, I think, without sufficient grounds. It would be very rash to take, at any time, the presence of a single tomb-stone as a proof that the body of troops to which the deceased had belonged, was stationed at that place, unless we had some other information to confirm it. Uriconium appears to have been a large city, which must have been frequented by strangers and visitors from all parts, some of whom no doubt died and were buried here. Our first inscription commemorates a soldier of the twentieth legion, which we know had its head-quarters at Deva (Chester); the second was raised over the body of a soldier of the fourteenth legion, which most probably was at that time on the continent. The tombstone of a horseman of this same body of Thracians has been found at Cirencester, the site of the Roman town of Corinium; and it is hardly probable that it was stationed at both places.

The fifth inscription on our plate is preserved in the museum of the Shropshire and North Wales Natural History and Antiquarian Society at Shrewsbury. Its history has not been very clearly ascertained; but there is reason for believing that it was brought from Italy, and that it has therefore no relation to Wroxeter. The letters are sufficiently distinct, and the words are unusually free of contractions. It may be read:

D . M
ANTONIAE
GEMELLAE
DIADUMENVS
PIENTISSIMAE
FECIT.
VIXIT . ANNIS . XXXIII.

I.e., “To the gods of the Manes. Diadumenus erected this to Antonia Gemella, a most affectionate [wife]. She lived thirty-three years.”

Fig. 6 of our plate is a mere fragment of what appears also to have been a sepulchral inscription; but it would be in vain to attempt an explanation.

The seventh inscription is also apparently a fragment, which is preserved in the garden of the vicarage. The words

BONA REIPUBLICÆ NATVS are legible upon it, and formed, perhaps, part of an inscription commemorative of one of the later emperors.

In the course of the last two or three weeks, a fragment of an inscribed stone has been found in the excavations, having evidently been used for materials for building,—a circumstance of common occurrence in the Roman buildings in this country. It is represented on fig. 8 in our plate. The letters which remain upon it are distinctly . D. M., under which are traced, not less clearly, letters which appear to be ISVM. The D.M. would be taken at once as indicating a tombstone; but it is still possible that these two letters may stand for *deo maximo*; and that this fragment may have belonged to an altar dedicated to Jupiter, *Jovi summo*, though the formula is more usually D. O. M., i.e., *deo optimo maximo*.

These are, I believe, all the inscribed stones known at present to have been found at Wroxeter, with the exception of a large cylindrical stone in the garden of W. H. Oatley, esq., on which there are distinct traces of letters. It has somewhat the appearance of a *milliarium*, or milestone; but on carefully examining it, I am inclined to believe that it is part of the shaft of a large column.

Among the fragments of mortar painted in fresco, from the walls, found in digging in the large building on the north of the present excavations, was a piece of what had been an inscription in large letters, probably in the interior of this building. It is deposited in the museum at Shrewsbury, and has on its surface two letters quite perfect, a third nearly so, and as much of another (the first letter) left as enables us to judge what it was. These letters are, ARCA.

The site on which the excavators are at present engaged, is not that on which we may expect to find many inscriptions; but the great interest which the discoveries in this part of the ancient city have presented, has hitherto fully occupied the attention of the committee. The agricultural crops on the site of the cemetery have prevented excavations there; but as soon as the opportunity is offered, it will be carefully explored, and we can hardly doubt that many more inscriptions will be found to increase our acquaintance with the inhabitants of Uriconium. Meanwhile it may be well to mention two objects which have been discovered at Wroxeter, presenting inscriptions of a more private character.

Among the very miscellaneous objects which have been met with in the course of our excavations, and which are now preserved in the museum at Shrewsbury, are two small rectangular slabs of whitish stone, apparently steatite or soapstone, carefully smoothed: the one side being perfectly even, but the other beveled off at the edges. One of these slabs is two inches and five-eighths long by two and a half broad, and about half an inch thick: the other has been broken, and only one part of it is preserved, so that its length can no longer be ascertained, but it appears to have been nearly the same size as the other. Both are represented in our engraving (plate 28) the full size of the originals. A little examination of these curious objects left no doubt that they were palettes for rubbing colours for painters; so that they belong to the history of art in Uriconium. The upper surface of the broken one (fig. 1) is rubbed so much in the middle by use, that it has become concave, as will be seen by the section which is given in our plate (fig. 2), and the remains of the colour which has been rubbed upon it may be traced distinctly. But the most curious circumstance connected with them is, that on the back of the perfect specimen (fig. 3) there is an inscription within a label, so minutely written that it is not easily deciphered; but I am inclined to agree with Mr. Roach Smith, who thinks it may be read DICINIVMA,—meaning, of course, *Dicinivi manu*. Dicinivus was probably an artist of Uriconium, to whom this palette belonged, and who wished to establish his claim to it by writing his name on the back; in doing which he adopted the formula in which the potters' names were stamped on the Samian ware.

In the year 1808, a small circular stone, somewhat resembling the materials of these painters' palettes, with an inscription on one face in very distinct characters, was found. It was engraved very incorrectly for the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and was equally incorrectly explained; but though it had been so inaccurately read that it could not be fully interpreted from the engraving, it was evidently a Roman oculist's stamp, and thus belonged to a class of antiquities which have of late years excited considerable interest. Unfortunately the object itself disappeared, and has long been supposed to be lost; but during the present year it was found in the possession of a farmer in a parish adjoining to Wroxeter, and was purchased by Beriah Botfield, esq., M.P., who presented

Fig. 1

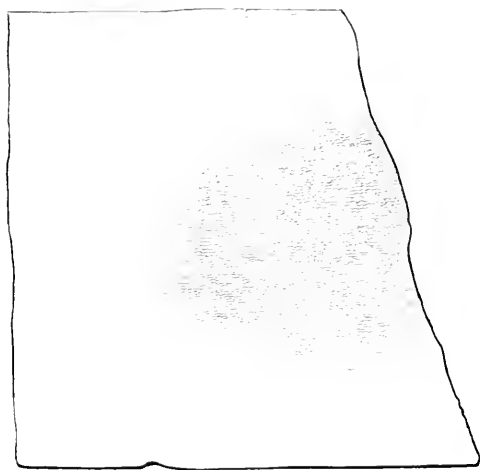
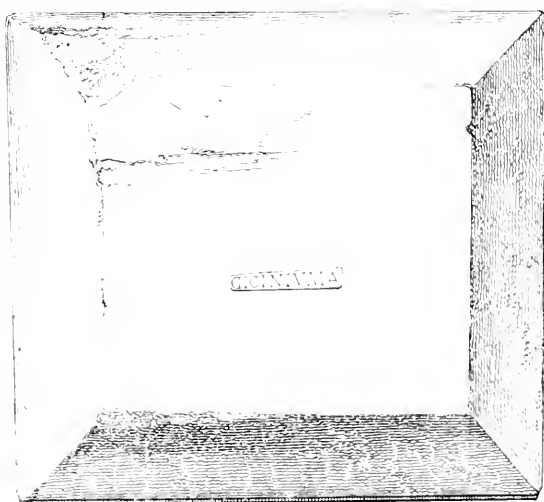


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Roman Painters Palettes from Wroxeter



it to the museum in Shrewsbury. The inscription presents no difficulties, and may be read as follows:

TIB CL M
DIALIBA
AD . OM
NEAVIT
O EXO.

Tiberii Claudii medici
dialibanum,
ad om-
ne vitium¹
oculorum, ex ovo.

I.e., “the dialibanum of Tiberius Claudius, the physician, for all complaints of the eyes, to be used with egg.”

Many similar stamps have been found in all the western provinces of the Roman empire, but this is the only example which is circular instead of rectangular. They were no doubt used for stamping the pots, bottles, or boxes of medicine, much in the same way in which modern patent medicines were stamped; but it is remarkable that all that have yet been met with, are salves or other applications for diseases of the eyes, which must, therefore, have been very common in Western Europe during the Roman period. We learn from the ancient writers, that several of these eye-salves were prepared for use, by mixing them with the white of egg, as here indicated. The names which occur on these stamps, seem to have been those of the vendors. Thus, among those found in Britain, one, found at Kenchester in Herefordshire (the Roman *Magna*), bears the name of Titus Vindacius Ariovistus;² another found at Cirencester (*Corinium*), that of Minervalis; a third, found at Gloucester (*Glerum*), that of Quintus Julius Murranius; a fourth, preserved in the British Museum, that of Sextus Julius Sedatus; and a fifth, found in Scotland, that of Lucius Vallatinus.³ From this variety of names, it is probable that they are those of local practitioners: and we may, therefore, venture to believe that Tiberius Claudius whose name occurs on our example, was a physician of Uriconium.

¹ In Roman inscriptions it was a very common practice, when the letters were not sufficient to fill the line, to separate words, or even letters, by introducing between them small circles or triangles, which are sometimes taken by mistake for the Latin O, or the Greek Δ. The latter is used here to separate NE from VIT.

² See *Journal*, vol. iv, pp. 280-286.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 351.

(*To be continued.*)

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

ON THE KITCHENER'S ROLL OF TEWKESBURY ABBEY.

BY THOMAS WAKEMAN, ESQ.

I HAVE the pleasure of producing a very curious document, the account of the kitchener of the abbey of Tewkesbury for the year ending at Michaelmas 1386. Thomas Chesterton was then the abbot: he died in 1389. I will not venture to call it unique, because it is impossible that I should know what may be locked up in private repositories, or lie concealed among the immense mass of unarranged rolls in the public offices; but I believe that no similar document has been published. I may observe, that the last abbot of Tewkesbury was a collateral ancestor of my own; which accounts for this and some other accounts relating to that monastery being found among the family papers. About twelve years ago it was borrowed by Mr. James Bennet, printer, of Tewkesbury, for whom Mr. John Gough Nichols made an extended copy and translation, which were published in a pamphlet issued annually by Mr. Bennet, called the *Tewkesbury Register and Magazine*. On comparing this version and translation with the original, I, however, find several mistakes in both, arising from haste in copying, and from not exactly understanding the local terms here and there introduced: some may, perhaps, be the errors of the printer. I have made a transcript, very carefully compared with the original, preserving all the contractions (from which the following copy in full has been made for the convenience of the reader), which I think is by far the best plan, as, unless a person is very much accustomed to reading ancient records, mistakes may very easily be made in attempting to write the words at length. There are two or three errors arising from this cause in Mr. Nichols's version.

Coquinarius is explained by Du Cange by *præfectus coquinae*. Mr. Nichols translates it *kitchener*: perhaps a better title would be *purveyor*, as from this roll his duties appear to have been the providing all sorts of provisions for the monastery, except bread, which was under the care of the baker; and the liquids, which belonged to the *cellerarius*,—

each of whom, no doubt, made out an annual account similar to this.

Tewkesbury abbey was one of the greater monasteries. The annual value of its possessions at the dissolution, was £1,598 1s. 3*d.* That was besides the fines upon renewal of leases, and other casual profits, which were not taken into account; which possibly amounted to £1,000 more. The abbot and thirty-five monks signed the surrender to the crown on the 9th January, 1539. This was probably the full average number of professed monks on the establishment. The number of lay brothers acting as servants, we have no means of ascertaining; nor the number of young men in their noviciate; but if we assume them together to have amounted to twenty-five, making the whole number to be daily provided for, sixty, we shall, I think, be more probably above the mark than under. It is totally impossible that this number of persons could have consumed anything like a quarter of the enormous quantity of animal food, fish, and poultry, which brother Thomas Carsyntown has here left us an account of. He tells us that 73 bullocks, 3 cows, 18 calves, 216 sheep, 135 hogs, 29 porkers, and 60 sucking pigs, were killed and consumed in the house. Besides this, there were 96 geese, 24 ducks, 61 capons, 225 fowls, and 1,675 pigeons; near 2½ tons of cheese, 210 gallons of milk, and 70,180 eggs, and an immense quantity of fish, which he does not furnish the means of estimating the weight of. When we reflect for a moment on the comparatively small portion of this supply that sufficed for the community itself, we may form some idea of the amount applied for the relief of the poor and the needy, the wayfarer and the stranger; for there were no poor-laws at that time, and travellers, of the higher class at least, in the absence of anything like our modern hotels, quartered themselves on the monasteries. The meat and poultry were for the most part the produce of their own manors; the greater part of the eggs, and all the fish, taken into the account, appear to have been purchased; although they had fishing weirs of their own, of the produce of which no notice is taken.

The first item of these purchases is 69,000 and four score eggs, at 5*s.* 2½*d.* a thousand. Chicken, 1*d.* each. Eels were bought by the stick of 24, at prices, varying according to the size, from 6*d.* to 1*s.* per stick: 1,400 gudgeons cost 5*s.*

10*d.*; 140 fresh herrings cost 5*s.*; and 200 salt herrings, 3*s.*; a pipe of salt salmon, £3. Few fresh salmon were purchased; probably they had a sufficient supply from their own fishery. Nine seams, or horseloads of salt fish, cost £5 4*s.* Cod, conger-eels (fresh and salt), mullets, ling, hakes, haddocks, plaice, and rays, are mentioned. Shad cost about a penny each, if that is intended by alowses; but here I am inclined to think twait is meant—a small species of shad very common in the Severn. I know not what fish is meant by quarmel, which cost 11*s.* 6*d.*, and must therefore have been a very large fish, or very rare; as nothing is charged for the carriage of it, it was probably caught in the Severn, and may be a sturgeon.

Under the head of “costs of the wear,” occurs a local term which has been misunderstood. In the original, the entry is, “*In perych emptis apud Gloucestriam, 8*d.*;*” which has been translated by Mr. Nichols, “*In perch, bought at Gloucester, 8*d.*;*” though what the purchase of such fish could have to do with the reparation of a wear it would be difficult to discover. The meaning is willow sets, locally called *pers**h*, for planting the banks, as is the common practice. The wear was on the Severn, and no *perch*, or any other fish, was required to stock the pool with. A tannery was a common appendage to religious houses, and was the source of very considerable profit. In this instance we have the receipts amounting to £52 5*s.* 4*d.*; the expenses, £38, 6*s.* 2*d.*; leaving a balance of profit, £13 19*s.* 2*d.*, besides the 200 hides in hand, unsold, which, at the same average rate as the others were sold for, were worth £27 13*s.* 4*d.* Making allowance for the difference in the value of money, the annual profit from this source may be put down as equivalent to £200 per annum, at the present day, at a very moderate computation. The first three entries on the back of the roll are illegible to me; but Mr. Nichols makes them out to relate to corn and meal. This may be so; but his version can be little more than conjecture; moreover, the quantity of wheat he allows, 66 bushels, would be out of all proportion to the other provisions, and totally inadequate to supply such a number of persons. Most probably a somewhat similar account was given by the baker, and another by the cellarer, as there is nothing in this of any sort of liquor.

There are some curious terms made use of, a few of them are decidedly local, and still in use among the labouring class; others are unintelligible to me. The great *schapher* mentioned under the head of necessary expenses, I suppose means a large, deep dish, or a tureen. *Bony* is a cleaver, under the head of "cost of wood" (for firing). *Kyl* is a local word for faggots.

Teukesbur.—Compotus fratris Thome Carsyntoun Coquinarij a festo Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Ricardi secundi nono usque idem festum proxime sequentem anno ejusdem regis decimo, per annum integrum.

Redditus.—Idem reddit compotum de xxvij*li*. xjs. de redditu ville per annum ad iiij^{or} terminos. Et de xls. redditu molendini de Karent per annum. Et de ijs. de redditu de Kylmesham per annum ad festum sancti Michaelis. Et de viijs. de redditu abbatis Gloucestrie ad festum Sancti Michaelis.

Exitus Coquine.—Et de xxvijs. de floeis venditis. Et de xiijs. iiij*l*. de xx lagenis pinguedinis venditis, silicet pro lagena viij*l*. Et de xis. viij*l*. de xx lagenis pinguedinis venditis, scilicet pro lagena vij*l*. Et de xxvs. v*l*. de xxxvij petris cepi venditis ad diversa pretia. Et de xxs. xid. de clxvij pellibus venditis et non plus quia cellerarius recepit dim. pretium ejusque j*l*. ob. Et de viijs. v*l*. ob. de xlj. pellibus venditis pretium ejusque ij*l*. ob. Et de liijs. x*l*. de vj toddis lane venditis scilicet per toddam ix*s*. minus in toto ij*l*. Et de xjs. de minutis decimis parochie hoc anno, et ideo non plus quia nondum sunt collecte. Et de xij*l*. de columbario de Oxendone. De columbario de Home nil quia decimaverunt columbelle.

Venditio Stauri.—Et de xlijs. v*l*. ob. de li. agnis provenientiibus de decimis, pretium capitis x*l*.

Exitus Tannerie. Et de lj*li*. xjs de cccxxiiij coreis bovum vaccarum et bovieulorum venditorum ad diversa pretia unde e pretium corei iiijs. et e pretium corei ijs. et lxxiiij, pretium corei xxij*l*. minus in toto iiijs. ij*l*. Et de ij millibus turbarum venditis xiijs. iiij*l*. scilicet per centum viij*l*.

In excessu ultimi compoti sui anni preecedentis acquetandi lvs. iiij*l*. q^a.

Redditus resoluti. In redditu resolutio Domine La Despenser pro vij burgagiis et demidio in Teukesburia vijs. v*l*. Item eidem pro xxxij aeris terre in Oldeburia xvjs. v*l*.

Defectus Redditus. In defectu redditus capelle beate Marie per annum v*l*. In defectu redditus quondam Maltimon vjs. eo quod tantum redditus relaxatur Waltero Lovelebroun ad terminum v annorum hoc anno iiij^o. In defectu redditus Johannis Stanbourne ijs. In defectu redditus unius cotagij (in) Walkereslone quod *Gonner* quondam tenuit

per annum ijs. vjd. In defectu ij cotagiorum quos Ricardus Hastynge tenet per j quarterium xijd.

Expense Coquine. In lxjx millibus iiij^{xx} ovis emptis ad diversa pretia xviiij^{li}. scilicet pro mille vs. ijd. ob scilicet pro c vjd. q^a minus in toto iijd. ob. In ijc xxviiij pultis emptis xixs. vd. scilicet pro capite jd. plus in toto vd. In caseis emptis xvijs. vjd. In carne porcorum, vitulorum et porcellorum pro frixeris et pro secundis ferculis et pro duplicatis pitancijs diversis temporibus anni xxxvijs. iijd. In xl stikis anguillorum emptis de Ricardo Prycher xxijs. iijd. In xxvj stikis anguillorum emptis diversis temporibus anni xiijs. vij. In ij millibus decc lampronibus emptis xvs. viij. In mille iiij^e gojonis emptis vs. xd. In cxl allecibus friscis emptis vs. In ijc allecibus salsis emptis ijs. per diversas vices. In j pipe de salmone salso empto de Willicmo Wermestre iij^{li}. In stricag et freyt de predicta pipe usque Teukesburiam xiiij. In expensis coquinarij providentis eandem pipam cum aliis piscibus apud Bristoliam ijs. iijd. In xij morucis et congris mersalibus emptis per vices xjs. xd. In iiij salmonibus salsis emptis per vices ijs. In v mulewelis, iiij lingis, et vij congris salsis emptis per vices viijs. iijd. In jx summis piscium salsarum emptis ad diversa pretia vli. iijs. In freyt' de predictis per diversas vices ijs. In j quarmel empto xjs. vjd. In xj morucis, lingis et congris friscis emptis ad diversa pretia per vices xjxs. viij. In vj congris friscis emptis aliis vicibus de Davy Ledbury, ix. In iiij salmonibus et dimidio friscis emptis per annum viijs. xd. In x hakedis emptis vs. In xviiij haddokis per vices ijs. ix. In xxv plays emptis viijs. In xviiij, rayes emptis vjs. In xxxvj, alowsis emptis ijs. iijd. In piscibus friscis emptis de Sabrina per vices xxxvjs. Item in piscibus emptis pro passionestre vs. vjd. In pinguedine empto per vices ijs. ijd. In j libra piperis emptâ xijd. In croco empto per annum ijs. viij. In j cowple *ficub*¹ empto apud Bristoliam xjs. In freyt' ejusdem per aquam vd. In j potello olei empto in quadragesima viij. In pane empto ijs. vij. ob.

Expense Necessarie. In c vasis garnitis emptis vs. iijd. Item in c discis emptis per vices ijs. In j magno schapher empto vjd. ob. In ij^exxx libris candelorum emptis xxxijs. vjd. In ij haspis emptis iijd. In emendatione cerure et pro novo clavi pro le dresser ijd. In stipendio unius hominis emendantis waschingchetel per j diem ijd. In petra emptâ pro ore dicti chetelis et pro clavibus emptis ad idem viij. In emendatione cerure almarie lardarij ijd. In emendatione j skemour iijd. In emendatione de ij brakis iijd. In uno pari gewmews pro armariolo meny squilarie iijd. In emendatione unius veru ijd. In emendatione hackeri ijd. In emendatione unius *Nowle* ijd. In grendyng de bonyes iijd. In stelyng unius hachet iijd. In emendatione unius fallynghax vd. In una corda emptâ pro le slautherous xiiij. In emendatione unius bonye et fyrpyck vjd. Item in emendatione cerure lardarij ijd.

¹ Sic.

In diversis vasis circumligatis in coquina et in porcaria per annum ijs. ix*d.* In expensis serjantis domini ville in die cinerum colligentis vasa in villa xvij*d.*

Custus circa Boscum. In bosco empto de Johanne Cope xl*s.* In cariagio ejusdem bosci a Ribbesford usque Pyler per iij vices xl*s.* In una caruca locata ad idem per iij dies et in expensis earundem vijs. In bosco empto de Willicelmo Burch xlvij*s.* In expensis carrete et stipendio pro dicto bosco cariendo a Pyler in le wodehouse ijs. In pane et cerevisia emptis pro familiaribus facientibus ky*d* extra Sabrinam per tres septimanas ijs. x*d.* In ij hominibus locatis per idem tempus ijs. In rewar*d*o facto iij garcionibus facientibus ky*d* per idem tempus pro sotularibus et cirotecis emptis ijs. In iij planstris locatis ad cariandas dictas ad aquam per iij dies vijs. x*d.* In una batella locata ad cariandas predictas ad Pyler per iij vices cum custibus iiij*s.* In una caruca locata (ad cariandum) predictas ky*d* in le wodehous ijs. x*d.*

Custus Gurgitis.—In vj cordis emptis vijs. In diversis ferramentis videlicet spykyng et bend' pro redde et pro landwerk emptis per vices ijs. iiij*d.* In expensis laborationis circa muros emendendos per j septimanam xxij*d.* In perych emptis apud Gloucestriam viij*d.* In stipendio unius carpentarij facientis ij armyng pro ij pynchones per v dies et in custibus ejusdem per idem tempus xiiij*d.* In j tunica data Waltero ibidem ijs. viij*d.*

Custus Porcarie.—In stipendio unius carpentarij emendentis cob ibidem per j septimanam cum custibus x*d.* In clavibus et twyst pro diversis cob emptis xx*d.* In stipendiis ij tegulatorum cooperientium muros juxta Woyesend una cum aliis domibus in Le Swyntre per j septimanam ijs. v*d.* cum custibus. In xiiij cretis emptis ix*d.* In e lathenalis emptis ad idem v*d.* In calce empto ad idem iij*d.* In stipendio j mulieris colligentis muys j. In ij sementariis conductis pro pavagio facto in le longhous per ij septimanas iiij*s.* In j servitore locato ad serviendum eis per idem tempus cum custibus predictorum ijs. v*d.* In iij bussellis de ordeo emptis pro porcellis xiiij*d.* In iiij bussellis puls emptis xij*d.* In rewar*d*o facto gewar*d* ibidem xij*d.* In rewar*d*o facto garcioni adjuvanti in porcaria post recessum dicti gerewardi ijs. ij*d.* In stipendiis ij porcariorum per annum ijs. Item eisdem pro eorum fysmess ijs. ix*d.* In rewar*d*o facto Johanni Baron tempore autumpni v*d.* pro sotularibus.

Stipendia Famulorum.—In stipendiis famulorum lardinarie vs. v*d.* Item coco conventus vs. Coco familie vs. Politori vs. Ostiario ijs. Garcioni cakerelli xvij*d.* Squilario conventus xvij*d.* Gardiano trans Sabrinam iiij*s.* Boviculo iiij*s.* Item gardiano de Wynyard iiij*s.* Item ij famulis gurgitis vijs. Item in stipendio ballivi ville per annum xij*s.* iiij*d.* Item servienti in villa ijs. iiij*d.* per annum.

Fisness.—In solutione H. P. ijs. ix*d.* Item custodi bo*v*um ijs. ix*d.* Item gardiano trans Sabrinam ijs. ix*d.* Item gardiano del Wyneyard



iijs. ix*d.* Item braciatori iijs. ix*d.* Item ij famulis in bracina iijs. ix*d.* Item pistori iijs. ix*d.* Item ij famulis in pistrina iijs. ix*d.* Item molendinario equino iijs. ix*d.* Item breviatori iijs. ix*d.* Item elemosinario iijs. ix*d.* Item ij famulis gurgitis vijs. v*d.* Item capellano parochiali ijs. ij*d.* Item Waltero Ragoun ijs. ij*d.* Item Thome Janekynes ijs. ij*d.*

Falcatio Pratorum.—In prato falcato de Frogemore xijs. In feno inde levato per vices xvijs. In expensis circa fenum domini carandum cum hominibus locatis viijs. x*d.*

Expensa Forenseca.—In decima soluta domino regi hoc anno pro coquina vjs. vi*d.* Item eidem pro reddito ville xxiijs. In solutione sacerdoti in choro per annum viijs. Item eidem pro una altaris missa celebranda coquinario existente apud Renst...ijs. Item solutione clerico facto iijs. iii*d.* Item in papiro empto per parcelas iii*d.* per annum. In pergameno empto pro rotulo iii*d.* In j toga data H. P. iijs. x*d.* In j pari caligarum dato Thome Oxeman xij*d.* Item in xxxviiij perticatis fossatis apud Le Worthay viijs. scilicet per perticam ij*d.* ob.

Oblaciones.—In oblacione coco domini v*d.* Lardinario viij*d.* Coco conventus v*d.* Coco familie v*d.* Politori v*d.* Ostiario v*d.* Item ij garcionibus conventus et cakerell' viij*d.* Item ij garcionibus trans Sabrinam viij*d.* Gardiano del Wyneyerd iii*d.* Item ij famulis gurgitis viij*d.* Squilario domini abbatis iii*d.* Squilario familie ij*d.* Item ij porcariis v*d.* Item pistori iii*d.* Item clerico in brevianti porcellorum xij*d.*

Custus Tunnerie.—In ccviiij coreis pilosis emptis ad diversa pretia xxviiij*li.* ijs. v*d.* In corticibus emptis et in custibus lxxs. In candelis emptis ijs. v*d.* In calce empto viijs. viij*d.* Item tascario per annum xxs. Item circulatori pro vasis emendatis per annum xvij*d.* Item pro ij cultellis et pro emendendo alios ijs. Item pro emendenda cribra et pro ij novis cribris emptis xij*d.* Item datum coco tempore lardendo v*d.* Item pro mensis ij famulorum ibidem per annum xls. In stipendio Ricardi per annum xiijs. iii*d.* Item eidem per annum sotulares ijs. Item in j toga data eidem tempore estivali iijs. v*d.* In oblacione ejusdem contra natale xij*d.* In stipendio Willielmi cum sotularibus xxvijs. In vestibus ejusdem contra natale iijs. x*d.* In oblacione illius v*d.* Item in stipendio Ricardi apprenticii per annum iiijs. ; in vestibus et sotularibus (et) in oblacione illius vjs. j*d.* In feruris equorum per annum xij*d.* In panno cilicium empto pro ost....vjs. ij*d.* Item Ricardo pro suo fysmess' per annum iijs. ix*d.*

In dorso rotuli.

Fru....

Summa.

....—Et de iiiij receptis de Forthampton per talliam.

....—Et de quarterijs vj bussellis farine avene de Aumeneye per talliam.

Pold. . . .—Et de quarter vj bussellis pold receptis de ballivo. . . .

Boves et Tauri.—Et de iiij bobus receptis de ministris maneriorum unde de Bartona ij, de Stanwey ij. Et de j tauro de Bartona per Et de lij de emptione per receptorem. Et xvij boves de emptione de magistro Page. Summa iiij^{xx} xiiij.

E quibus in necatione pro hospitio per annum iiij^{xx} xiiij. In exhennio facto domine de la Despenser j contra natale. Summa ut supra. Et eque.

Vacce.—Et de ij vaccis receptis de ministris maneriorum, unde de Bartona ij. de Stanwey j. Summa ij. Et expenduntur in hospitio, et nil remanet.

Vituli.—Et de xxij vitulis de ministris maneriorum, unde de Bartona ix, Forthampton xij, quorum iiij debiles, Waltone j. Summa xxij. Et expenduntur in hospitio, et nil remanet.

Multones.—Et de x multonibus receptis de Colyng. Et de ij^c iiij multonibus de emptione per receptorem per vices in anno. Summa ij^c xiiij. E quibus in necatione pro hospitio per annum ij^c xiiij, et nil remanet.

Cassi Bidentes.—Et de ij cassibus bidentibus receptis de ballivo de Forthampton per talliam. Summa ij. Et expenduntur in hospitio, et nil remanet.

Porci.—Et de cxxxv porcis de ministris maneriorum, unde de Forthampton xliij, Ayshetone xxxij, Waltone xx, Fydyntone xvij, Wassheborne xxij. Summa cxxxv. Et expenduntur in hospitio, et nil remanet.

Adhuc Porci.—Et de xl receptis de remanente unde ij apri et iiij sues. Et de xxx adjunctis de porculis. Summa lxx.

In necatione pro conventu xxjx. Summa xxix. Et remanent ij apri, iiij sues et xxxiiij porci.

Porculi.—Et de xx porculis de remanente. Et de iiij^{xx} adjunctis de porcillis. Summa c. E quibus in morina x. In adjunctione supradicto cum porcis xxx. Et remanent lx poreuli.

Porcelli.—Et de xx porcillis de remanente. Et de c de exitu suum. Et de xxx de decimis parochialibus. Et de xij de Forthampton. Summa clxij.

E quibus in morina xij. In expensis conventus lx. In adjunctione supradicta lxxx. Summa *clxij*,¹ et remanent x porcelli.

Auce.—Et de lvj aucis de ministris maneriorum, unde de Stanwey vj, Forthampton vij, Swynley xij, Wassheborne vij, Fydyntone xvj. Et xx de decimis. Summa iiij^{xx} xvj. Et expenduntur in hospitio, et nil remanet.

Anates.—Et de xxiiij anatibus de ministris maneriorum, unde de Forthampton x, de Fydyntone xiiij. Summa ut supra. Et expenduntur in hospitio, et nil remanet.

Capones.—Et de lxj caponibus de ministris maneriorum, unde de

¹ *Sic*.

Wassheborne xvj, Fydyntone xij, Swynley vj, Waltone xij, Forthamp-
tone xv. Summa patet. Et expenduntur in hospitio, et nil remanet.

Galline.—Et de cccxv gallinis de ministris maneriorum, unde Godryn-
tone xxiiij, Forthampton iii^{xx}j, Swynley xiiij, Fydyntone xx, Waltone vj,
Aumeneye xl, Ayshtone lxx. Summa ut supra. Et expenduntur in hos-
pitio, et nil remanet.

Columbelle.—Et de mille delxxv columbellis de ministris maneriorum,
unde de Bertona dcccx, Forthampton iii^j, Wassebourne lxv, Stanweye v^c.
Summa patet. Et expenduntur in hospitio.

Cuseum.—Et de iij^e iij^{xx} iij petris x libris casei de ministris manerio-
rum, unde de Bertona cxx petre, Forthampton clx petre vij lib., Aysh-
tone xxx petre vj lib., Prille liij petre vj lib., Stanweye xx petre ij lib.

Lac.—Et de ij^e x lagenis lactis de Bartona. Summa patet. Et expen-
duntur in hospitio, et nil remanet.

Ora.—Et de mille c ovis de ministris maneriorum per minus c, unde de
Forthampton, ij^e xl, Wassheborne ij^e, Fydyntone ij^e Summa
patet. Et expenduntur in hospitio, et nil remanet.

Piper.

Pelles.—Et de ij^e viij pellibus provenientibus ad hospitium de biden-
tibus. Et venduntur infra, et nil remanet.

Tanneria.—Et de cxcj coreis de remanente. Et de lxxvij de necatione.
Et de iij^e vij coreis de emptione. Summa dxxxv.

Inde in expensis domini j. In expensis coquinarij j. In venditione
ad diversa pretia iij^e lxxij. Summa ij^e lxxv. Et remanet cc.

TRANSLATION.

Tewkesbury.—The account of brother Thomas Carsyntoun, kitchener,
from the feast of St. Michael, in the ninth year of the reign of
king Richard II, to the same feast next ensuing, in the tenth
year of the same king, for one whole year.

Rents.—Item. He accounts for £28 11s. 0d. for the annual rent of
the town (payable) at the four terms; and for 40s. for the rent of Karent
mill for a year; and for the year's rent of Kylmesham, 2s., due at
Michaelmas; and for 8s. rent from the abbot of Gloucester, due at
Michaelmas.

Issues of the kitchen.—And for 27s. for wool sold; and for 13s. 4d. for
20 gallons of lard sold at 8d. the gallon; and for 11s. 8d. for 20 gallons
of lard sold at 7d. the gallon; and for 25s. 6d. for 38 stones of tallow
sold at various prices; and for 20s. 11d. for one hundred and three score
and seven skins sold, and not more, because the cellarer received half (?)
the price of each 1½d.; and for 8s. 6½d. for 41 skins sold at 2½d. each;
for 53s. 10d. for 6 tod of wool sold at 9s. per tod, less in the whole 2d.;
and for 11s. for small tithes of the parish in this year,—and so not more,
because they have not yet been collected; and for 12d. from the dove-

cote of Oxenton; from the dovecote of Home, nothing, because the pigeons have decimated.

Sale of stock.—And for 42s. 6½*d.* for 51 tithe lambs at 10*d.* each.

Issues of the tannery.—And for £51 1s. 0*d.* for 373 hides of oxen, cows, and steers, sold at various prices, of which, 100 at 4*s.* a hide, 100 at 3*s.*, and 100 at 2*s.*, and 73 at 1*s.* 10*d.* a hide,—less in the whole, 4*s.* 2*d.*; and for 2,000 turves sold, 13*s.* 4*d.*, that is, at 8*d.* the 100.

In discharge of the balance of his last account for the year preceding, 55*s.* 4¼*d.*

Rents paid.—In rent paid to the lady Le Despenser for 7½ burgages in Tewkesbury, 7*s.* 6*d.*; also to the same for 32 acres of land in the Oldbury, 16*s.* 6*d.*

Defaults of rent.—In default of the rent of the chapel of the blessed Mary for the year, 6*d.* In default of the late Maltimon, 6*s.*, because so much rent is abated to Walter Lovelybrown for the term of five years, this being the third year. In default of rent of John Stanbourne, 2*s.* In default of the rent of one cottage in Walkereslane, which — some time held by the year, 2*s.* 6*d.* In default of two cottages which Richard Hasting holds for one quarter of a year, 12 pence.

Expences of the kitchen.—In 69,080 eggs bought at various prices, £18; that is to say, 5*s.* 2½*d.* the thousand, 6¼*d.* the hundred,—less in the whole, 3½*d.* In 228 pullets bought, 19*s.* 5*d.*; that is, at one penny each, more in the whole, 5*d.* In cheese bought, 17*s.* 6*d.* In pork, veal, and sucking pigs, for fryings, and second course, and double pittances, at several times in the year, 38*s.* 3*d.*; in 40 sticks of eels bought of Richard Prycher, 23*s.* 4*d.*; in 26 sticks of eels bought at various times of the year, 13*s.* 7*d.*; in 2,800 lamperns bought, 15*s.* 8*d.*; in 1,400 gudgeons bought, 5*s.* 10*d.*; in 140 fresh herrings bought, 5*s.*; in 200 salt herrings bought at different times, 3*s.*; in one pipe of salt salmon bought of William Wermestre, £3; in the strikeage and freight of the aforesaid pipe to Tewkesbury, 1*s.* 2*d.*; in the expences of the kitchener purveying the said pipe and other fish at Bristol, 3*s.* 4*d.*; in 12 cod and (?) . . . congers bought at several times, 11*s.* 10*d.*; in 4 salt salmon bought at different times, 2*s.*; in 5 mullets, 4 lings, and 7 salt congers, bought at different times, 8*s.* 3*d.*; in 9 seams of salt fish bought at various prices, £5 4*s.*; in freight of the aforesaid at various times, 3*s.*; in one *quarmel* bought, 11*s.* 6*d.*; in 11 cod, ling, and fresh congers, bought at various prices at different times, 19*s.* 8*d.*; in six fresh congers bought at other times, of Davy Ledbury, 9*s.*; in four fresh salmons and a half bought during the year, 8*s.* 10*d.*; in 10 hakes bought, 5*s.*; in 18 haddocks bought at different times, 3*s.* 9*d.*; in 25 plaice bought, 8*s.*; in 18 rays bought, 6*s.*; in 36 shad bought, 3*s.* 4*d.*; in fresh fish out of Severn, bought at different times, 36*s.*; item, in fish bought for Passion week, 5*s.* 6*d.*; in lard bought at different times, 3*s.* 2*d.*; in one pound of pep-

per bought, 1s.; in saffron bought during the year, 3s. 8d.; in one *cowple* (?) of figs bought at Bristol, 12s.; in freight of the same by water, 5d.; in one pottle of oil bought in Lent, 8d.; in bread bought, 4s. 7½d.

Necessary expences.—In 100 garnished vessels bought, 5s. 4d.; item, 100 dishes bought at different times, 3s.; in one large, deep dish bought, 6½d.; in 230 lbs. of candles bought, 32s. 6d.; in two hasps bought, 4d.; in mending the lock, and a new key for the dresser, 3d.; in the wages of a man mending the washing *kettle*, one day, 2d.; in a stone bought for the mouth of the said *kettle*, and for keys bought for the same, 8d.; in mending the lock of the ambry in the larder, 2d.; in mending a skimmer, 4d.; in mending 2 brakes, 4d.; in 1 pair of hinges for the small cupboard in the (?) *scullery*, 4d.; in mending a spit, 2d.; in mending a hacker, 2d.; in mending a nowle (?), 2d.; in grinding the cleavers, 4d.; in steeling a hatchet, 4d.; in mending a falling-axe, 5d.; in a cord bought for the slaughter-house, 1s. 1d.; in mending a cleaver and a poker, 6d.; in mending the lock of the larder, 2d.; in hooping various vessels in the kitchen and porkery during the year, 3s. 9d.; in the expences of the sergeant of the lord of the town collecting vessels in the town on Ash Wednesday, 1s. 6d.

Cost of wood.—In wood bought of John Cope, 45s.; in the carriage of the same from Ribbesford to Pyler, at three times, 40s.; in the hire of a cart for four days for the same, and the expences thereof, 7s.; in wood bought of Wm. Burch, 48s.; in the hire of a cart, and wages in carrying the said wood from Pyler into the wood-house, 3s.; in bread and ale bought for the servants making faggots beyond Severn, during three weeks, 3s. 10d.; in the hire of two men during the same time, 3s.; in shoes and gloves bought, and for the reward of three boys making faggots during the same time, 2s.; in the hire of three waggons for four days, to carry the same (faggots) to the water, 8s. 10d.; in one boat hired to carry the same to Pyler at three times, with the expences, 4s.; in the hire of a cart (to carry) the said faggots into the wood-house, 2s. 10d.

Costs of the wear.—In 6 cords bought, 7s.; in various iron work, viz., spiking and bands for the carriages and landwork, bought at various times, 2s. 4d.; in the expences of labour in repairing the walls for one week, 1s. 10d.; in *persh* bought at Gloucester, 8d.; in the wages of a carpenter for five days, making two armings for two punchins, and his expences during the same time, 1s. 2d.; in a coat given to Walter there, 2s. 8d.

Costs of the porkery.—In the wages of a carpenter one week, with his expences, mending the sties, 1s. 3d.; in nails and *twist* bought for various sties, 20d.; in the wages of two tilers covering the walls next to Woyesend, with other buildings in the swinery, for one week, with their expences, 2s. 6d.; in 14 ridge-tiles bought, 9d.; in 100 lath-nails bought

for the same, 5*d.*; in lime bought for the same, 3*d.*; in the wages of a woman collecting moss, 1*d.*; in two masons hired two weeks in making the pavement in the long-house, 4*s.*; in one labourer hired to serve them for the same time, with the expences of the aforesaid, 2*s.* 6*d.*; in three bushels of barley bought for the young pigs, 1*s.* 1*d.*; in four bushels of pulse bought, 1*s.*; in reward made to the cutter there, 12*d.*; in reward made to a boy assisting in the porkery, after the departure of the said cutter, 2*s.* 2*d.*; in the wages of two swineherds for the year, 3*s.*; also to the same for their fish-messes, 3*s.* 9*d.*; in reward made to John Baron in the autumn, 6*d.*, for shoes.

Servants' wages.—In wages of the servants of the lardner, 5*s.* 6*d.*; item, to the cook of the convent, 5*s.*; to the cook of the family, 5*s.*; to the gardener, 5*s.*; to the porter, 3*s.*; to the cakerel's boy, 1*s.* 6*d.*; to the scullion of the convent, 1*s.* 6*d.*; to the keeper beyond Severn, 4*s.*; to the herdsman, 4*s.*; to the keeper of the vineyard, 4*s.*; also to the two servants at the Wear, 8*s.*; also in the wages of the town bailiff by the year, 13*s.* 4*d.*; also to the sergeant in the town, 3*s.* 4*d.* by the year.

Fish-messes.—In payment to H. P., 3*s.* 9*d.*; to the herdsman, 3*s.* 9*d.*; to the keeper beyond Severn, 3*s.* 9*d.*; to the keeper of the vineyard, 3*s.* 9*d.*; to the brewer, 3*s.* 9*d.*; also to the two servants in the brewery, 3*s.* 9*d.*; to the baker, 3*s.* 9*d.*; to two servants in the bakehouse, 3*s.* 9*d.*; to the horse-miller, 3*s.* 9*d.*; also to the accountant, 3*s.* 9*d.*; to the almoner, 3*s.* 9*d.*; to two servants at the Wear, 7*s.* 6*d.*; to the chaplain of the parish, 2*s.* 2*d.*; also to Walter Ragoun, 2*s.* 2*d.*; to Thomas Janekynes, 2*s.* 2*d.*

Mowing the meadows.—In mowing Frogmore meadow, 12*s.*; in carrying the hay thence at several times, 17*s.*; in expences of carrying the lord's hay, with the wages of the men, 8*s.* 10*d.*

Foreign expences.—In tenths for the kitchen, paid to our lord the king this year, 6*s.* 7*d.*; also to the same for the rent of the town, 24*s.*; in payment to the priest in the choir by the year, 8*s.*; also to the same for celebrating mass at the altar when the kitchener was at *Renst*, 2*s.*; also paid the clerk making (this account), 3*s.* 4*d.*; also in paper bought for parcels during the year, 4*d.*; in parchment bought for the roll, 4*d.*; in one gown given to H. P., 3*s.* 10*d.*; in a pair of boots given to Thomas Oxeman, 1*s.*; also in 38 perches of ditching at Worthey, at 2½*d.* per perch, 8*s.*

Oblations.—In gratuity to the cook of the lord (the abbot), 6*d.*; to the lardner, 8*d.*; to the cook of the convent, 6*d.*; to the cook of the family, 6*d.*; to the gardener, 6*d.*; to the porter, 6*d.*; to the two boys of the convent and the cakerell, 8*d.*; also to the two boys over Severn, 8*d.*; to the keeper at the vineyard, 4*d.*; to the two servants at the Wear, 8*d.*; to the scullion of our lord the abbot, 4*d.*; to the scullion of the family, 4*d.*; also to the two swineherds, 6*d.*; to the baker, 4*d.*; also to the clerk abbreviating the parcels of this account, 12*d.*

Costs of the tannery.—In 307 hides in the hair (raw hides), bought at various prices, £28 2s. 6d.; in bark bought, and in the expences, £3 10s.; in candles bought, 2s. 6d.; in lime bought, 8s. 8d.; also to the collector per annum, 20s.; item, to the cooper for mending the vats by the year, 18d.; item, for two knives, and repairing others, 2s.; item, for mending the sieves, and for two new sieves bought, 1s.; item, given to the cook in larding time, 6d.; also for the board of two servants there during the year, 40s.; in the wages of Richard for the year, 13s. 4d.; also to the same for shoes, per annum, 2s.; also in a gown given him in the summer, 3s. 6d.; in gratuity to the same at Christmas, 12d.; in wages to William, with his shoes, 28s.; in clothes for the same at Christmas, 3s. 10d.; in his gratuity, 6d.; in wages to Richard, the apprentice, by the year, 4s.; in clothes and shoes (and) in his gratuity, 6s. 1d.; in shoeing the horses, by the year, 12d.; in hair-cloth bought for 6s. 2d.; also to Richard for his fish-mess, by the year, 3s. 9d.

En dorso rotuli.

Sm^a.

And for 4 (bushels) received from Forthampton by tale, and spent in

And for 2 quarters and bushels of oatmeal from the almoner, by tale.

Pollard.—And for quarter, 5 bushels of pollard received from the bailiff

Oxen and bulls.—And for 4 oxen received from the bailiffs of the manors, of which, two from the Barton, and two from; and for one bull from the Barton by; and for 52 by purchase, by the receiver; and for 17 oxen purchased of Master Page.—Total, 3 score and 14; of which, slaughtered for the household during the year, 74 (for 73); in a present to lady La Despenser against Christmas, one. Total as above, and thus equal.

Cows.—And for 3 cows received from the bailiffs of the manors; of which 2 from the Barton, 2, and from Stanwey, 1.—Total, 3; and they were spent in the house, and nothing remains.

Calves.—And for 22 calves from the bailiffs of the manors; of which, from the Barton, 9; from Forthampton, 12, of which 4 were diseased; from Walton, 1.—Total, 22; and they were consumed in the house, and nothing remains.

Sheep.—And for 10 sheep received from Colyng, and 204 purchased by the receiver at different times during the year.—Total, 214; of which, slaughtered for the household during the year, 214, and none remain.

Wethers.—And for two wethers received from the bailiff of Forthampton by tale.—Total, 2; and they were consumed in the house, and none remain.

Porkers.—And for 135 porkers from the bailiffs of the manors ; of which, from Forthampton, 43 ; from Ayshton, 33 ; Walton, 20 ; Fydynton, 17 ; Washbourne, 22.—Total, 135 ; and they were consumed in the house, and none remain.

More porkers.—And for 40 of the remainder (of last year's account), of which 3 are boars, and 4 sows ; and for 30 added from the pigs.—Total 70. Slaughtered for the convent, 29 ; total, 29, and there remain 3 boars, 4 sows, and 34 pigs.

Pigs.—And for 20 pigs remaining (last year), and for 4 score transferred from the sucking pigs.—Total, 100 ; of which 10 are in the murrain, and 30 added to the porkers, as above. Total, 40, and 60 pigs remain.

Sucking pigs.—And for 20 sucking pigs of the remainder (of last account), and for 100 of the litters of the sows, and for 30 from the tithes of the parish, and for 12 from Forthampton.—Total, 162 ; of which 12 are in the murrain, 60 were consumed in the convent, and 4 score added to the pigs, as above. Total, 152, and there remain 10 sucking pigs.

Geese.—And for 56 geese received from the bailiffs of the manors ; of which, from Stanwey, 6 ; Forthampton, 8 ; Swynley, 12 ; Washbourn, 8 ; Fydynton, 16 ; and for 20 from tithes.—Total, 76 ; and they were consumed in the house, and none remain.

Ducks.—And for 24 ducks from the bailiffs of the manors ; of which, from Forthampton, 10 ; from Fiddynton, 14.—Total as above ; and they were consumed in the house, and none remain.

Capons.—And for 61 capons from the bailiffs of the manors ; of which, from Washbourn, 16 ; Fydynton, 12 ; Swynley, 6 ; Walton, 12 ; Forthampton, 15.—The total appears ; and they were consumed in the house, and none remain.

Fowls.—And for 225 fowls from the bailiffs of the manors ; of which, from Godrynton, 24 ; Forthampton, 61 ; Swynley, 14 ; Fydynton, 20 ; Walton, 6 ; Amney, 40 ; Ashton, 70.—The total as above ; and they were consumed in the house, and none remain.

Pigeons.—And for 1,675 (should be 1,775) pigeons from the bailiffs of the manors ; whereof, 810 from the Barton ; 400 from Forthampton, 65 from Washbourn, and 500 from Stanway.—The total appears, and they were consumed in the house.

Cheese.—And for 383 stone and 10 lbs. of cheese from the bailiffs of the manors ; whereof, from the Barton, 120 stone ; from Forthampton, 160 stone and 7 lbs. ; from Ashton, 30 stone and 6 lbs. ; from Prill, 53 stone and 6 lbs. ; from Stanwey, 20 stone 2 lbs.

Milk.—And for 210 gallons of milk from the Barton. The total appears ; and they were spent in the house, and none remain.

Eggs.—And for 1,100 eggs from the bailiffs of the manors, by the short hundred^l ; of which, from Forthampton, 340 ; Washbourn, 300 ;

Fydynton, 200.—The total appears; and they were consumed in the house, and none remain.

Pepper.—

Skins.—And for 208 skins from the sheep coming to the house. And they were sold as below, and none remain.

The tannery.—And for 191 hides remaining (last year), and for 77 from the slaughtering, and for 307 purchased hides.—Total, 575; of which, in the expenses for the lord (abbot), 1; in the expenses of the kitchen, 1; in sale at various prices, 373. Total, 375; and there remain 200.

CHARTERS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

COMMUNICATED BY G. WENTWORTH, ESQ., OF WOOLLEY PARK,
WAKEFIELD.

1. Charter of Maurice the abbot, and the convent of Kirkstall, granting to Richard Curtecauce and Emma his wife, an oxgang of land in Creskeld, in exchange for the like in Woodhouse :—

“Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris frater Mauricius dictus abbas et conventus de Kirkestall salutem in Domino. Noveritis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse Ricardo Curtecauce et Emme uxori ejus unam bovatom terre cum edificiis et pertinenciis suis in villa de Creskeld. Illam scilicet bovatom terre quam Walterus de Willehus de nobis tenuit in eadem villa de Creskelde. pro qua bovata terre cum pertin. dicti Ricardus et Emma nobis dederunt in essecambium unam bovatom terre cum pertinenciis in villa de Wdehus. quam scilicet disrationaverint per assisam in cur. domini regis de Henr. de Berlay. Tenend. et habend. predictis Ricardo et Emme et heredibus suis de nobis. libere. quiete et integre cum omnibus libertatibus et aisiamentis ad predictam terram pertinentibus infra eandem villam de Creskelde et extra. Faciendo forinsecum servitium nobis : quantum pertinet ad unam bovatom terre unde decem et novem carucate terre faciunt feodum unius militis. Nos vero warantizabimus dictis Ricardo et Emme uxori ejus et heredibus suis predictam terram cum pertinenciis contra omnes homines. quamdiu predicti Ricardus et Emma et heredes sui nobis predictam bovatom terre cum pertinenciis in Wdehus warantizaverint. Illis test. Ada de Witon. Henr. de Stubhus. Waltero de Lanaria de Ardington. Henr. Northiby de Bramhop. Alano de Brerehahe. Willelmo de Alwndelay. Waltero fil. Hugonis de Creskelde. Ricard. fil. Hug. de eadem villa et aliis.”

With fragments of the conventual seal, sewn up in cloth, upon a parchment label. This charter, written in the thirteenth century, was endorsed in the fifteenth as follows: "Carta Ricardi de Curtecance de una bovata terre in Krysssekeld." Now marked "No. 239."

2. Charter of Hugh the rector and the brethren of the hospital of St. Peter's, York, granting to Walter Clerk, of Calverlay, an acre of land in Wadelandes :

"Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit. Magister Hug. rector et fratres hospital. sancti Petri Ebor. salutem in Domino. Noverit universitas vestra nos concessisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse Willelmo Clerico de Calverlay unam acram terre in Wadelandes quam habemus de dono Henrici Scotti de Pudekeseya. Tenendam et habendam predicto Willelmo et assignatis suis preterquam Judeis et viris religiosis aliis a nobis cum omnibus pertinenciis suis aisiamentis et libertatibus suis infra villam et extra libere . integre . et quiete. Reddendo inde nobis annuatim duodecim denarios . medietatem ad pentecosten et aliam medietatem ad festum sancti Martini in hieme. Predictus autem Willelmus et assignati sui vel quicumque in predicta terra manserint pro porcione catallorum eos contingente in obitu suo unam marcam argenti pauperibus domus nostre persolvent. Nos autem predictam terram cum suis pertinenciis predicto Willelmo et assignatis suis warrantizabimus quamdiu carte donatorum quas inde habemus : nobis illam warrantizare poterunt. In hujus autem rei robur et testimonium : huic scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus. Hiis testibus Ricardo de Tanga . Simone de Fersleya . Rog. Alano . Stephano de Ecelesclif . Rob. de Eceleshil . Ric. de Tirsal . Fulcone de Vvestthorp . Jordano fil. Willelmi . et multis aliis."

With parchment label, but the seal is lost. This very neatly written charter of the thirteenth century, was thus endorsed in the fifteenth: "Cart. de Hospit. de j. acr. terre. pro xij d. redd." Now marked "No. 240."

ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF KING JOHN.

BY J. O. HALLIWELL, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.

ALTHOUGH the alleged cause of King John's death by poison is not supported by the best contemporary authorities, much interest will always be attached to early notices of it, were it merely from this popular notion on the subject

having been adopted by Shakespeare. The most curious, though in many respects obviously apocryphal, account is that contained in Caxton's Chronicle, which is evidently transcribed from the older work, known as the Brute Chronicle. From an ancient MS. copy of the latter the following extract is taken. The titles of the chapters vary in the different manuscripts of the chronicle; but in a very fine copy in the British Museum, MS. Harl., 24, the narrative is entitled, "Howe the Pope of Rome sente into Englande a legate that men callede Swalo, for to maigntayne kyng Johnne cause agenste the barouns of Englande, and howe kyng Johnne dyede, and by whomme." The word *pope* is altered in a later hand to *bisshope*, a change made probably by some zealous protestant of the sixteenth century.

"In the same tyme, the pope sente into Englande a legate that men callede Swalo, and was preste cardinale of Rome, for to maigntayne kyng Johnnes cause ayenste the barouns of Englande; but the barouns had so grete pertye & helpe thurghe Lewes, the kynges sonne of Fraunce, that kyng Johnne wiste not whithir to torne hym, ne for to gonne; & so hit befelle that he wolde have goo to Nicholle; & as he wente thithirwarde he came to the abbaye of Swynneshed, & there he abode ij dayes. And as he sette at his mete, he axede a monke of the house howe muche a loff was worthe that was sette before hym uppon the table, and the monke sayde that a loff was worthe but one halpeny. O, quoth the kyng, & I may lyve, suche a loff shalle be worthe xx.s. or one halfe yere be goon. And whenne he had sayde this worde, muche he thought, & ofte tymes he seyde & syghede, & toke & ete of the brede, & seyde, by God, the worde that I have seyde shalle be trewe; & so the monke that stode before the kyng was for this worde fulle sory in herte, & thought rathir he wolde hymselfe suffer pitevous dethe, & thought yef he myght ordeyne therefore somme maner remedye, & anoon the monke wente to his abbote, & was shryven of him, & tolde the abbote alle that he herde the kyng seye, & preyede his abbote to assoile hym, for he wolde geve the kyng suche a drinke, or whassayle, that alle Englande shulde be glade thereof, & joyfulle. Thenne wente the monke into a gardeyne, & founde a grete tode therein, & toke hire uppe, & put hire into a cop, & pricked the toode thurghe a broche many tymes, tylle the venome came oute into the coppe; & thenne he tooke the coppe & filled hit with good ale, & brought hit before the kyng, & knelynge sayde,—sire, quoth he, was-saille! for nevir dayes of youre lyff dranke ye of suche a coppe. Begynnne, monke, quoth the kyng, & the monke dranke a grete draught, & sette doune the coppe. The monke, anoonright, wente into the fermorye & there dyede anoon, one whos soule God have mercy, amen! &

v. monkes syngen for his soule specialiche, & shalle while the abbaye stonte. The kyng rose uppe anoon fulle evylle at ease, & commaundede to remeve the table, & axede after the monke, & they tolde hym that he was dede, for his wombe was broke in sounder. Whenne the kyng herd this tything, he commaundede for to truse; but alle hit was for noght, for his bely beganne to swelle for the drinke that he had dronke, that he dyede within ij. dayes, the morowe after Seynt Lukes daye."

It is curious that in a subsequent part of this chapter, after an enumeration of king John's children, it should be stated, not that he died at Swineshead; but, as was the fact, "in the castelle of Nuwarke." The same statement is made in other MSS. I have examined; and it is also incorrectly recorded in all of them that he was buried at Winchester.

Proceedings of the Association.

NATHANIEL GOULD, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

MAY 11TH.

THANKS were voted for the following presents :

To the Canadian Institute. The Canadian Journal. New Series. No. xx. 8vo. March, 1859.

To the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Society. Vol. ix. No. 34. 8vo.

To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for May. 8vo.

Mr. Gibbs exhibited two London tokens of the seventeenth century, upon which Mr. H. Syer Cuming offered the following remarks :

“The two tokens are worthy of notice, as they do not occur in the Beaufoy cabinet. One bears on its *obv.* a shield charged with three leopards' heads, each with a shuttle in his mouth, and the words, AT THE WEAVERS; *rev.*, ARMES AT MORGATE : in the field, 1^{ME}. The only Moor-gate token in the Beaufoy collection is a halfpenny of John Randall (1666), bearing a view of the edifice on either side; and the only piece displaying the arms of the Weavers' company, is of George Smith, in Mile End, 1658. Mr. Gibbs's second specimen is of more interest and greater rarity. It has on one side three seamen standing,—the centre one, the tallest, having a pipe in his mouth. Legend, AT THE 3 MARRI-NERS; *rev.*, AT FRESH . WHARFE. In the field, T^{PS}. No token of this locality, nor any bearing a like device, are to be found in the Beaufoy catalogue; but I produce a little piece which, there cannot be a doubt, was issued from the same house as Mr. Gibbs's specimen, and which has on its *obv.* an exactly similar sign, with a formula slightly varied in its orthography, AT . THE . 3 . MARRINERS. The *rev.* is much detrited, but a perfect example gives the following legend, IN BOSS ALLEY . 1653; in the field, C^RW. Boss-alley was in Lower Thames-street, nigh unto Fresh Wharf; and Stow says was ‘so called of a boss of spring water continually running, which standeth by Billingsgate, against this alley, and was sometime made by the executors of Richard Whittington.’ The tavern



Fig. 1.

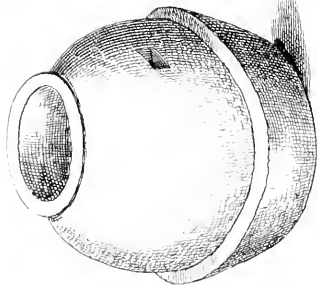


Fig. 2.

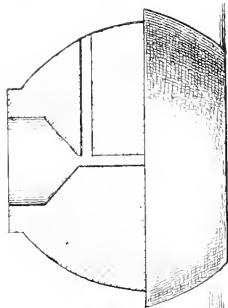


Fig. 3.

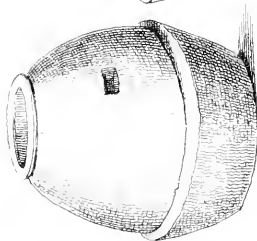


Fig. 5.

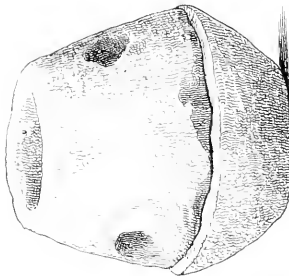


Fig. 6.

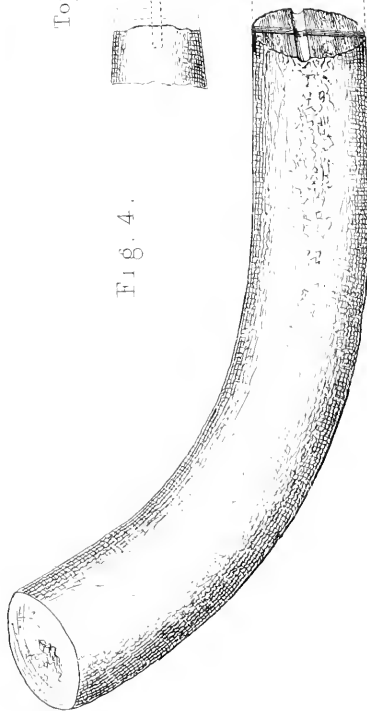
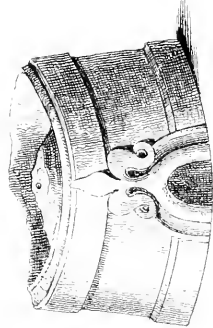
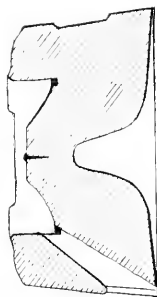


Fig. 4.

Top View



Fig. 6. In Section



Side View

must have shared the fate of the surrounding neighbourhood in the great fire of 1666; and I have discovered no record of its re-erection after this event."

Mr. W. H. Forman laid before the meeting a right hand broken from a bronze statue, probably of the Virgin or some female saint. It was undoubtedly cast in a mould taken from a living subject, as it exhibits the fine margin round the root of the nails, the folds of the skin, and the delicate lines upon the fingers and palm. The prominent muscles are somewhat flattened from the hand having pressed rather too heavily on the material of the mould. This relic was exhumed from the *débris* of a building at Verona; and its rarity, size, and character, render it an useful illustration to the art-history of northern Italy in the fourteenth century.

The following communication from John Joseph Briggs, esq., of King's Newton, Swarkeston, co. Derby, was then read:

"ON THE DISCOVERY OF ROMANO-BRITISH REMAINS
AT BREDON, CO. LEICESTER.

"At the village of Bredon is a high and prominent rock, of magnesian limestone, forming a remarkable and interesting feature in the district. This limestone is procured for architectural as well as agricultural purposes. During the middle of April 1858, some labourers, when boring for stone, cut into what evidently was an ancient tumulus, beneath which was a rude kist, or cist-vaen, containing the bones of human beings, charcoal, one quern (plate 29, figs. 1, 2, 3) entire, and the remains of several others, and a rude bone weapon made from the horn of a red deer, which seems to have been used as a hunting dagger. This is represented at fig. 4, and would have been of greater interest had not the finders broken away the iron blade, which was secured by rivets in a slit cut in the horn by a saw, precisely as we see some old fashioned knives. The horn has been smoothed so as to shew the corrugated surface indicated in the sketch made by Mr. Bateman. There were afterwards found a boar's tusk and a beautiful pink pebble. From the appearance and texture of this pebble, it evidently did not belong to the neighbouring soil, but had been placed with the body as a token of affection.

"Querns have several times been found previously upon this rock, a short distance beneath the surface, with an iron pin in the nether millstone for the upper to work upon. In the one last found were traces of iron. Wishing to have the opinion of Mr. Bateman of Youlgrave upon the date and character of these remains, I wrote to him, and received the following answer:

"The account of the Bredon discovery is interesting. The weapon of bone was probably made from the horns of a red deer; for I have uniformly found the red deer's antlers employed for such a purpose, where

horn of any description was used. I have one or two similar instruments, but I cannot say what they have been adapted to with sufficient certainty to satisfy myself.

“ ‘Portions of querns have been occasionally found in barrows without having any definite connection with the interments. I possess one perfect quern, which was *said* to have been found with a skeleton by the man from whom I obtained it; and I found two mill-stones, making one complete quern, placed with *two* skeletons of the Saxon period, in graves at Winster. Altogether, I apprehend that querns found in a barrow with human remains, would indicate a rather late period, perhaps the Romano-British. I have been led to form this opinion from the nature of the pottery found in connexion with querns both in this locality and other parts of England. The iron pin found with querns at Bredon, is rarely to be observed. The peg was, no doubt, most commonly of wood, though in the querns introduced by the Roman legionaries the pin of the nether mill-stone, and the rhind of the upper, were often of iron. The stones themselves were frequently of lava, from Andernach on the Rhine, then largely exported for the purpose; whilst the British stones are mostly of the stone found in the neighbourhood.’ ”

“ I have little doubt that the stone for querns, used in the neighbourhood of Bredon, was procured from a quarry of remarkably hard texture, about two miles off, and situated near the town of Melbourne. It is still called *Charn hill*, or *Quern hill*. The Bredon tumulus was probably that of a hunter who had ranged over the neighbouring forest of Charnwood, and had had his implement of chace buried with him, from a supposition that it might be required when pursuing his calling in another world. The querns are evidently Romano-British. The presence of iron in them, coupled with the fact that the hill on which the tumulus rested was fortified by the Romans, seems to leave no doubt of this conjecture being correct. Portions of the vallum left by the Romans still remain, and are called the ‘Bulwark.’ ”

Mr. Briggs, in a communication since received, has further remarked that few similar remains are met with in the south of Derbyshire. On the same remarkable hill at Bredon, some years since, a stone celt slightly figured was found. It is in the possession of Bernard Dolman, esq., of Melbourne, as also a quern. The querns discovered at Bredon vary in their design; that above described and figured has a kind of plain beading or edging round the rim; but another (fig. 5), just seen by Mr. Briggs, found on the rock, is made of a different and coarser stone, and has two holes for the handles in the upper stone. It is precisely thirteen inches in height, and the pin was evidently of iron. A metal paalstab, a few years ago, was found about a mile from Bredon, near a place called the Highwood. It is of a well known form, but is not perfect.

Mr. Briggs also communicated the following note on the discovery of a stone vessel at Melbourne:—"A few days ago a man digging upon the spot where Melbourne castle stood, turned up a rude stone vessel of a date apparently of about 1400. Mr. Bateman seems to think (and its appearance fully bears out the supposition) that it was a kind of stoup, or vessel for holding holy water, used in a private chapel. In an old print of Melbourne castle, a chapel or church is represented as standing very near the spot where this vessel was found, and probably it once belonged to it. It is very antique in shape, without sculpture, massive, evidently cut out of one solid block; circular at the top, having two little projections from the rim by way of ornament. It is about a foot in diameter, and it has two remarkably massive and solid handles."

Mr. John Moore, of West Coker, Somerset, forwarded a drawing and sections of the nether-stone of a pot-quern (see fig. 6), found, about the year 1836, by some men whilst excavating for the erection of a wall near the borders of a small brook in his garden at West Coker, Somersetshire. It is six inches high, and eleven and five-eighths diameter at the base. The aperture through which the meal escaped represents a semicircular-arched doorway with a large fleur-de-lis sculptured above it. From the peculiarity of the form of this embellishment, we are perhaps justified in referring this curious quern to the thirteenth century.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read the following paper

"ON THE BLACK-JACK AND BOMBARD.

"If names were always indicative of things, we might be led to imagine that the tables of our ancestors presented a strange and animated appearance when furnished with long-beards and grey-beards, bellarmines and jeroboams, jacks and jills, kitties, betties, and georges, tall-boys, ranters and boggles, dogs, rabbits, pigs, grey-hens, and a host of other such uncouth cups and drinking-pots. However curious the subject may be, it is not our purpose on the present occasion to enter into any inquiry regarding the forms of these several vessels, except that known as jack, or black-jack, from its sable hue. According to Minshew this was so denominated 'because it somewhat resembles a jack, or coat of mail, or leather.' Most lexicographers agree in this origin of the title, and Grose says the vessel was called a jack from its being made of jacked leather. Whatever may be the origin of the name, it does not date earlier than the sixteenth century, during which and the following century the leather jack, with its gigantic relative the bombard or bumbard, was in high favour,—the latter vessel deriving its cognomen from its similitude to the huge piece of ordnance bearing the same designation.¹

¹ It may here be noted that, from the great bombards being used to carry beer to soldiers whilst on duty, the person who served out any provisions received the title of "bombard-man", whilst the sailors corrupted it into "bumbard-man."

In the old song of '*Times Alteration*', which professes to describe the fashions of the latter half of the fifteenth century, it is said,—

“ ‘Black-jacks to every man
Were fill'd with wine and beer ;
No pewter pot nor can
In those days did appear’;

and though the writer has undoubtedly taken a somewhat poetic licence with his subject, it is still possible that such drinking cups were then in use ; for we find ‘ledder potts’ mentioned in the household book of the earl of Northumberland, *sub anno* 1512. John Taylor, the water-poet, in his *Jack o’ Lent, his Beginning and Entertainment*, speaks of—

—“ ‘blacke jacks at gentle buttry bars,
Whose liquor oftentimes breeds household wars.’¹

And Shakespeare plays upon the name of this and another drinking-vessel, when Grumio, in the *Taming of the Shrew* (iv, 1) says to Curtis, ‘Be the jacks fair within, the jills fair without.’ The great jack, or bombard, is also mentioned in the first part of *Henry IV* (ii, 4), where prince Hal describes Falstaff as ‘that swoln parcel of dropsies, that huge bombard of sack’. Trinculo, in the *Tempest* (ii, 2), speaking of the storm, says, ‘yond same black cloud, yond huge one, looks like a foul bombard that would shed his liquor.’ And in *Henry VIII* (v, 3), the lord chamberlain exclaims to the porter and his men, ‘And here ye lie baiting of bombards when ye should do service.’ Black-jacks were among the important objects in every ancient tavern. In Wilkins’ *Miseries of Inforced Marriage* (i, 1, 1607), Ilford says to the clown, ‘How now, blue bottle, are you of the house?’ To which he replies, ‘I have heard of many black-jacks, sir, but never of a blue-bottle.’

“The effects of the unrestrained use of the black-jack is shadowed forth in the following lines, which form the first verse of a carousing song given in the diary of William Whiteway, 1618-34 (Egerton MS., 784):

“ ‘The black jack, the merry black jack,
As it is tost on high-a,
Grows, flows—till at last they fall to blows,
And make their noddles cry-a.’

Both the black-jack and bombard are inveighed against by Heywood in his *Philocothonista*, 1635, p. 45. He says, ‘Small jacks wee have in many ale-houses of the citie and suburbs, tipt with silver, besides the great black jacks and bombards at the court; which, when the Frenchmen first saw, they reported, at their returne into their countrey, that the Englishmen used to drink out of their booties.’ Bishop Hall (*Satires*, vi) speaks of charging ‘whole boots’ full to their friends’ welfare.’ And there is

¹ Taylor’s *Workes*, 1630, p. 113.

an old saying, of one who has taken too much, that 'he is in his boots.' The Frenchman's report, as given by Heywood, helps to explain the meaning of these expressions; but it is certain that actual boots have at times been employed as goblets. There is an anecdote told of marshal de Bassompierre, who was sent on an embassy to Switzerland in 1625, that, just before his return, he called his friends around him that he might drink their health in a parting cup, and finding the ordinary vessels too small for the purpose, he took off one of his military boots, filled it with wine, and drained it to the bottom, before he parted from the assembly.²

"The drinking-cups of glass and earthenware, in form of boots, probably owe their origin to the cant name given to the bombard. I exhibit a glass boot, of German manufacture, of the seventeenth century, which holds a quarter of a pint, wine measure. It is four inches and one-eighth high, has a quilling down the back, and is a good example of this odd kind of vessel.³ But we are wandering from black-jacks to jack-boots. Let us retrace our steps.

"In the first scene of the first act of *A Jovial Crew, or The Merry Beggars* (a comedy by Richard Brome, first acted in 1641), among the stage directions we find,—'Enter Randal and three or four servants with a great kettle and black-jacks and a baker's basket, all empty'; and Randal says, 'We have unloaded the bread-basket, the beef-kettle, and the beer-bumbards.' The black-jack is also spoken of in the song of *Sir John Barleycorn*, written about the year 1650 :

" 'Some of them fought in a black-jack,
Some of them in a can;
But the chiefest in a black-pot,
Like a worthy nobleman.'

So popular was the vessel about the middle of the seventeenth century, that a ballad (*In Praise of the Black-Jack*) appeared in the *Westminster Drollery* (1672, 8vo., p. 94), which sets forth that—

" 'No tankard, flaggon, bottle, or jug,
Are half so good, or so well can hold tug;
For when they are broken, or full of cracks,
Then must they fly to the brave black-jacks.
Chorus. And I wish his heires may never want sack,
That first invented the bonny black jack.

¹ Kennett's *Glossary*, p. 32.

² It was once considered a mark of gallantry to toast a lady from her shoe.

³ It must be admitted that vessels in the shape of human legs are of high antiquity. Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.*, tav. ci, gives two examples,—one a drinking-cup, the other an alabastron, closely resembling a specimen from Vulci, now in the British Museum. Goblets in form of sandaled feet have also been found in the tombs of the incas of Peru.

When bottle and jack together stand,—fie on't !
 The bottle's a dwarf compar'd to a giant.
 Then jacks had we not reason to choose ?
 For jacks make boots when the bottle mends shoes.

Chorus. And I wish his heires, etc.

And as for the bottle, you never can fill it
 Without a funnel, but you must spill it :
 'Tis as hard to get in as 'tis to get out.
 Not so with the jack, it runs like a spout.

Chorus. And I wish his heires, etc.'

"In 1685 the cost of a six-gallon great jack, or bombard, was thirty-six shillings :¹ the smaller vessels were, of course, purchasable at a lower rate. But from about this period both jacks and bombards declined in estimation; and by the commencement of the eighteenth century were only remembered among the things which had been, except in a few establishments (St. Cross, Hants, and Charter House, London), where they continued to be used long after their general abandonment."²

"A couple of bombards of the seventeenth century are exhibited to us by Mr. W. H. Forman, which were long preserved with other relics at Parrow Hall, Lincolnshire, the seat of the Uppleby family. These specimens are in fair preservation, the smallest measuring seventeen inches and a half in height, and seven inches and a half diameter at the base; the largest, nineteen inches and three-quarters in height, and upwards of ten inches at the base. The handles and back-seams are of considerable strength and thickness,—needful provisions, for, when filled with liquor, the vessel must have been of great weight. Of still more gigantic size is another bombard exhibited by Mr. G. G. Adams, which is nearly twenty-five inches high. It is in fine condition, and purchased a few years since at a sale at Staines. The late Mr. Crofton Croker possessed a bombard as large as Mr. Adams's example, which once probably formed an appendage to one of the royal palaces in the time of Charles I, for on its front is impressed a crown, c. r., and the date, 1646.³ An excellent representation of the bombard is to be seen in a woodcut, from a drawing by Mr. Fairholt, in Halliwell's *Shakespeare* (folio edition, vol. i, p. 420), where also will be found various extracts from Heywood's *Philocothonista*, Shirley's *Martyred Souldier*, Field's *Woman is a Weather-Cock*; Taylor,

¹ See *Archæologia*, xxxiv, p. 355.

² But one solitary black-jack now remains at the Charter House. Its existence was denied by the officials, but Mr. Forman and myself succeeded in dragging it once more into the light of day. It is greatly injured by damp, but is still a curious relic deserving of conservation.

³ In the museum collected at Newbury, during the Congress held there in September last, H. Hippisley, esq., placed a bombard which measured twenty-four inches and a half in height, thirty-nine at its greatest circumference, twenty-five and a half at the top, and thirty-eight at the bottom.

the Water Poet's works, Decker's *Match Mee in London*, Gifford's note on Ben Jonson's masque of *Love Restored*; and also from the masque of *Augurs*, Cole, etc.

"Mr. W. Meyrick places before us an interesting series of black-jacks, consisting of ten specimens, varying from about four inches and three-quarters to seven inches and three-eighths in height. The earliest is of the time of Elizabeth, or James I, and is a type of great rarity, the body being globose, the neck cylindrical, and having a well-formed handle on one side. It has a silver base, rim, and cover, graven with roses, strawberries, etc.; and its extreme height is about seven inches and a quarter. Mr. Meyrick's other jacks are all can-formed, mounted with silver rims; five having shields attached to their fronts, displaying arms, crests, or initials,—features which by no means determine the age of the vessels, nor to whom they originally belonged; for the graver can be employed at any time, according to expediency or caprice, as is evidenced by the smallest of the vessels now under view, which bears on its rim the names and date of 'Thomas and Mary Gibson, 1710,' whilst the object itself, like its companions in form, is palpably of the seventeenth century. The handles of these jacks are beautifully and strongly stitched, some being of elegant contour with foliated terminations.¹

"Occasionally the silver rim of the black-jack was parcel-gilt, and at times decorated with little bells. It formed a test of sobriety for the person to drink from the vessel without producing a tinkling. Black-jacks so accoutred were known as *jingle-bores*.²

"From the traders' tokens issued in the seventeenth century, we find that the 'Black-Jack' was a tavern sign in Old Gravel-lane, Wapping; Old-street, St. Luke's; and Redcross-street, Cripplegate. It still exists as such in Portugal-street, Lincoln's Inn Fields; and so late as the middle of the last century, the vessel gave name to alleys in East Smithfield, Great Windmill-street, and Old-street, in all of which were probably signs of the 'Black-Jack.'

"Before quitting the subject, it may be worth mention that the name of black-jack was long retained for that of a cylindrical pot of tin, the body of which was covered with black japan, the rim being left bright, in imitation of the silver rims of the leathern vessels. Wolverhampton was formerly famous for the manufacture of tin jacks, the fronts of some of which were painted with animals, and designated 'figure-jacks'; whilst

¹ A small black-jack, measuring only seven inches and a half in height, and having a diameter of three inches and two-eighths, was exhibited in the museum at Newbury, it having been found, together with a musqueteer's leathern helmet, on the battle-field, after the fight, in 1644.

² The barber-surgeons' company have two silver cups hung about with bells: one given to the company by Henry VIII, in 1540; the other by Charles II, in 1678. They were exhibited to the Association on occasion of their visit to the hall in 1852. See *Journal*, vol. viii, p. 125.

others had flowers, and were known as 'Roman jacks.' And though the name of bombard for a vessel has long since become obsolete, there is still a tall cylindrical jug in use in the north of England, called a 'gun', which was doubtlessly made in imitation of its leathern archetype. 'He is in the gun', is said of one who has taken too much liquor; and a jovial fellow is said to be the 'son of a gun', from the supposition that he has drank deep from the vessel bearing this title.

"Thus much upon black-jacks and bombards, the names of which conjure up visions of old halls spread with proud banquets, of riotous delights, and draughts deep and potent as those of the renowned Mynheer Vandunck. They likewise bring to mind certain words and phrases now esteemed low and vulgar, but which, in former days, were regarded in a different spirit; and the introduction of which on the present occasion seemed indispensable in illustration of the vessels on which we have been descanting."

MAY 25.

GEORGE GODWIN, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected :

George Greenhill, esq., Priory Lodge, Barnes.

Charles Ashley Hance, esq., Alexander-square, Brompton.

Joseph Wyon, esq., 287, Regent-street.

Thanks were voted for the following present :

From the Smithsonian Institute. Report of the Superintendent of the U.S. Coast Survey for 1856. Washington, 1856. 4to.

Mr. W. H. Forman exhibited a cordi-formed purse of the early part of the seventeenth century. It is composed of blue silk striped with orange and white; the sides faced with richly wrought silver filigrane, set with cordi-formed plaques of gaily painted enamel,—one displaying a lady and gentleman in classic habits, seated beneath a tree; the other a flambant heart placed on an anvil, with a hand proceeding from the clouds, about to strike it with a hammer; in the distance, a lake and mountains; and above, a semicircular label inscribed "*Ich werde gehimert . doch nit gar zertrimert*" (I may be hammered, yet not destroyed). The purse draws together with four red ribbons, on each of which is a little silver slider. Purses of this description were made for love-gifts, and intended to hold jettons.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a cordi-formed plaque of enamel, of the same age, and evidently designed for the same purpose as the plaques in Mr. Forman's purse. It is painted with a figure of Fortune in a yellow robe and flowing pink scarf, pressing to her a young Cupid, who stands

upon an azure-coloured ball; in the distance are hills and trees; and above, a label inscribed "*Fortune aveugle lamour.*" Though one of the above plaques bears a German, and another a French motto, there cannot be a question that they were produced in the same atelier, and that the style of drawing and colouring of both indicate an Italian origin.

Mr. Nightingale exhibited a matrix of a seal in coarse jet,—one of those gross forgeries of which a history is given in the *Journal* (xiv, 353). It is of a pointed oval form, two inches and three-eighths long, and about half an inch thick. Legend, ROBERTO DE AVO, reading from *within* the verge, *i.e.*, the reverse way of the inscriptions hitherto described. Device, a cross patée. The handle is composed of a human and a snake's head joined back to back. The surface of the stone is pecked all over, to give it an air of antiquity. This matrix was purchased in London.

Mr. G. G. Adams exhibited the head of a demi-lance, of about the middle of the sixteenth century; the socket fluted, and pierced for the rivet, by which it was secured to the shaft. This specimen was found, in 1852, near the ditch which divides the parish of Staines, in Middlesex, from Wyrardisbury in Bucks, and about five hundred yards west of the "London stone", on the west bank of the Thames. This ditch empties itself into the Thames, nearly opposite the east end of Runny Mede.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following observations

ON THE GILL.

"The etymon of gill is involved in obscurity. Spelman and others have deduced it from the Latin *gillo*, a word of double, if not doubtful, signification. In one sense it is applied to a vessel of porous terra-cotta, employed by the Romans as a refrigerator for wine and water, the narrow neck of which caused the liquor to make a gurgling sound as it was poured out. The *gillo* did, in fact, resemble many *gutturii*, and was therefore in form very unlike what we now call a gill. But in low Latin *gello*, *gillo*, or *gilla*, is a title given to a drinking-cup; and it is possible that, from this source, we derive our gill; and the Anglo-Saxon *gellet*, a large vessel or cup, may perhaps spring from the same origin,—all having their root in the Greek *κελος*, *poculi* genus, an ample goblet alluded to by Plautus. (*Rudens*, v, 2, 32.)

"In the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, compiled towards the middle of the fifteenth century, gill implies a little pot. When Grumio, in the *Taming of the Shrew* (iv, 1), wishes 'the jills fair without', it is a hint that the metal drinking-pots should be well polished. And it is in the sense of a drinking vessel rather than a measure, that the gill is generally spoken of by old writers. The capacity of the gill is as indefinite as its etymon is obscure. Carew, when speaking of the Cornish tanners, tells us, 'they measure their block-tin by the gill, which containeth a pint.' In the north of England a pint of ale is called a gill of ale. Ainsworth renders

gill *hemina*, i.e., 'half a sextary, being three-quarters of a pint'; and Johnson says the gill, in some places, is half a pint. In London a gill is equal to a quarter of a pint, wine measure; and the little drinking vessels holding half this quantity were formerly called *quaffing* or *quifting* pots,—a title, I believe, still met with in the west of England. I exhibit a perfect quifting-pot of the close of the seventeenth century, recovered from the Thames in August 1850, near the site of Old London bridge; which probably belonged to a dispenser of strong water residing on this ancient highway. It is of pewter, and in shape much like the tankards of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, having a large scroll-formed handle, and the round mouth closed with a flat cover decorated with a fleur-de-lis. On the front is engraved the name Fleming, probably its former proprietor.¹

"The gill and quifting-pot were formerly in extensive use. Sir John Hawkins, speaking of the London taverns a century since, states that 'on the site of the bank there stood four; and at one of them, the *Crown*, it was not unusual to draw a butt of mountain, containing one hundred and twenty gallons, in gills in a morning.'

"The title of gill for a liquor has no connexion with the vessel bearing the name. *Gill-beer* is malt liquor medicated with the leaves of the gill, or ground-ivy (*glechoma hederacea*);² and the places where such beer was to be purchased, were called gill-houses. Pope, in the *Dunciad* (iii, 147), when speaking of Ned Ward, the poet, says—

" 'Thee shall each ale-house, thee each gill-house mourn,
And answering gin-shops sourer sighs return.' "

Mr. C. Curle exhibited to the Association a curious little knife-handle, of cast brass, about three inches and a quarter in length, representing a lady and gentleman, the right arm of the latter encircling the waist of the former. The lady's hair is arranged in long groups of curls on each side her face, that at the back being dressed horse-shoe fashion. The upper edge of the body of her dress is straight, and provided with what would now be called a *Bertha*. Her sleeves are long; the skirts of the gown open in front, and looped back to show the petticoat. In her right hand she holds a bag or purse, and with the left encircles her lover. The moustached gentleman represents the beau of the middle of the seventeenth century. His head is covered with a tall hat, having a wreathed band, and a feather depending at his back over his long hair. He wears a falling-band; doublet, with recurved cuffs; square-ended

¹ In the Beanfof cabinet is a token issued, in 1668, "by William Fleming at y^e 3 (corn-porters) in Stoney-lane," Tooley-street; but there is nothing to shew that he was a tavern keeper.

² In Devonshire this plant is called "gill-ale"; in Somersetshire, "gill-creep-by-the-ground." It is also known by the names of "ale-hoof," "tan-hoof," "cat's-foot," etc. See Gerard's *Herball*, p. 856, where its use in beer is mentioned.

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 6.

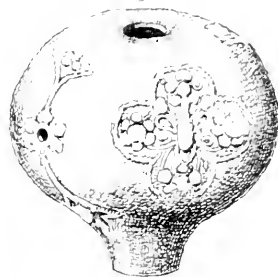


Fig. 7.



Fig. 3.

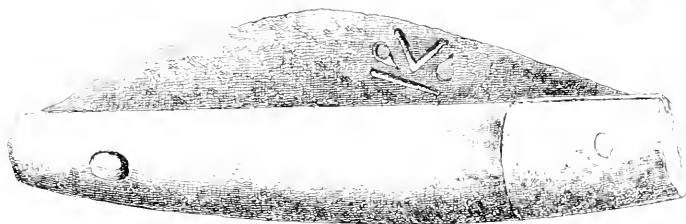
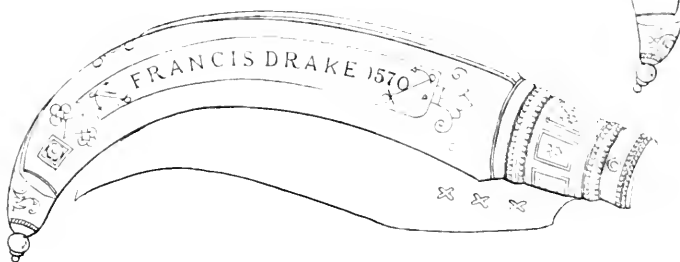


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.





trunks, scarcely reaching the knees; and large topped boots, "ruffled", as Dekker would say, round his legs; and by his side is a formidable sword, hanging from a baldrick. Between the necks of the figures is a large perforation, probably to admit a cord by which the knife might be suspended from the girdle. (See plate 30, figs. 1 and 2.)

Mr. Curle remarks, that "circumstances connected with the discovery of this relic tend to invest it with an interest independently of its value as a specimen of the embrace handles, now exceedingly scarce.¹ It is now nearly half a century since it was found, low down on the Fulham bank of the Thames, where the armies of the parliament more than once assembled; where, in 1642, the earl of Essex threw across a bridge of boats, to keep in check the royalists, encamped higher up the stream; and where, five years later, the forces of the commonwealth had again taken up their quarters. The ground is now occupied by a villa, called Rosebank, well screened by a row of willows; but which may attract the notice of the summer excursionist by the profuse display of those flowers from which the place took its name. In this place, at a depth of some four feet from the surface, was discovered the crumbling remains of a human being, with a knife, of which this relic formed the handle, not by the side of the body, but within the ribs. Close to this skeleton lay another, the head of which had not been buried with it. The blade of the knife had been destroyed by corrosion, and presented little more than a dull red streak of rust; the brass handle remained uninjured. It was taken possession of by the late William Curle, esq., of Pimlico, who happened to be there when the remains were exhumed. Such a discovery, as may readily be supposed, created some sensation at the time; and Faulkner, who was then engaged on his *History of Fulham*, borrowed this handle, and gave a description of it, as well as an account of the discovery of the two skeletons, as related to him by my uncle, who, however, did not approve of his name being mentioned in the publication.

"The coins mentioned by Faulkner as having been dug up about the same time, remained in this gentleman's possession for many years, and were eventually given to one who was not careful of them. With regard to two other skeletons afterwards discovered in another part of the same grounds, Faulkner states that they had *daggers by their sides*; but I do not know on what authority his testimony rests, and have always been led to consider these daggers as apocryphal.

"Without being in the least degree inclined to draw upon the imagination, it is next to impossible to refrain from associating a relic so found, and in such companionship, with aught but some deed of violence; and the obvious conclusion presents itself, that the weapon which

¹ A knife-handle, evidently from the same matrix as the above, was found at the Manor House of Lake, near Amesbury, Wiltshire.

struck the death-blow was buried deep in the body of the victim, and so committed to the ground. We do not read of any battle having been fought in these parts, or of any skirmishes having taken place, and, therefore, fair and open warfare does not answer to the deed; and, however gloomy the alternative, we must, I fear, consider this token as evidence of some sanguinary broil, or as the long-enduring witness of a dark and frightful crime—a witness resting for long years in the wasting body of the slain, with another form by its side, the headless trunk of which tells forcibly of wrong-doing.”

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read before the Association the following remarks

“ON THE ANTIQUITY OF CLASP-KNIVES.

“In June 1856, our late associate Mr. Patriek exhibited to us a clasp or pocket knife, presumed to have belonged to the celebrated circumnavigator, sir Francis Drake. The examination of this interesting relic affords us a favourable opportunity of raising an inquiry as to the probable era of the invention and introduction of *clasp-knives*—a research not altogether devoid of interest, yet so beset with difficulty that little more can at present be done towards its elucidation than to record the earliest examples which have passed under our notice, and leave to a future time the solution of the question.

“Dr. Johnson appears to be the first lexicographer to insert the word ‘clasp-knife’ in our dictionaries, but cites no authority for the name. The silence of previous writers must, however, not be construed as evidence of the non-existence of such an article at an earlier period; for we have at once proof in sir Francis Drake’s knife that it is at least as old as the sixteenth century; and archdeacon Nares conjectures Chaucer to allude to a small clasp-knife when he says in the *Reve’s Tale*—

“‘A Shefeld thwytill bare he in his hose.’

Without insisting on the validity of this conjecture, there is yet ample evidence of the existence of clasp-knives ages before the production of the *Canterbury Tales*. Among Etruscan antiquities in the Bronze Room of the British Museum are several clasp-knives, some of them with bone, others with bronze hafts, their blades being of iron—a metal employed for cutting implements by the Tyrrhenian tribes, at a far remote era. A *scalprum* or penknife has been found in Rome, the blade shutting into a bone haft, which is carved to represent the upper half of a human body; and clasp-knives, with iconie handles of the Roman era, have been discovered both in France and this country.

“The Anglo-Saxons also possessed knives with closing blades. In the *Nenia Britannica* (pl. xx, fig. 7) is engraved the brass haft of a Saxon clasp-knife, about two inches and five-eighths in length, perforated in the form of a hound chasing a hare. It is stated to be much

worn, but is still an indisputable proof of the use of such knives among our Teutonic ancestors, who may possibly have distinguished this kind by the name of *hweytel*. As additional evidence of the employment of clasp-knives by the Anglo-Saxons, I exhibit a rather rude example, recovered from the Thames near Blackfriars Bridge, in 1846. (See pl. 30, fig. 3.) Its somewhat cylindrical haft is of pinewood, nearly four inches and a quarter long, the upper part accoutred with a lap of iron about an inch wide, and the lower perforated for the admission of a cord, by which the knife was probably suspended about the person of the wearer. The thin blade is closed, and rusted in its place; but sufficient of its edge is visible to show that it is straight, whilst the back forms the segment of a circle. On one face is stamped a large **A**, having an horizontal bar across its vertex, but none within its limbs; and on each side is a small circle or pellet. Exactly similar formed A's, with a pellet on each side, are frequently found on the money of the heptarchian kings, from the middle of the eighth century to the time of Egbert; so that there seems fair ground for assigning this specimen to a period not later than the commencement of the ninth century. Although this **A** affords an early instance of the presence of a stamp on a knife-blade, it is by no means the earliest; for in the British Museum are two Roman knives found in London, the one having the name **OLONDIYS.F**, the other **P.PASILIF**, stamped upon their blades.

"Judging from the rarity of early clasp-knives, it would seem that they were little used during the middle ages; but they gradually came into more general employ towards the close of the sixteenth century, from which time they become comparatively common.

"Sir Francis Drake's knife is a highly interesting relic of the age of Elizabeth. The broad blade is in the shape of some of the old falchions, and has on one side three crosses, emblematic of the three persons of the Blessed Trinity; and on the other a bold scroll, followed by the sacred initials **INRI**. The handle appears to be formed of the polished horn of the chamois (*antelope rupricapra*, Linn.), mounted in rich engraved brass, and inlaid on each side with a band of ivory, on one of which are engraved two deer surrounded by scrolls, and on the other the legend, **FRANCIS DRAKE, 1570**, at either end of which is an anchor. In the *Gent. Mag.* (Nov. 1790, p. 983) is engraved a specimen of the same era, exhumed at Castle Acre, Norfolk; and another clasp-knife, of a rather later period and very different design, was exhibited to us by Mr. Goddard Johnson, May 8th, 1850, in which the brass haft represented a human leg, and bore the following inscription, a line being on each side.

‘HEAR IS A LEG AND FOOT,
AND A GOOD BLADE TOOT.’

A barbaric sample of the *cutlers' poetry* of former days, to which allusion is made by Shakespeare (*Merchant of Venice*, v, 1), when Gratiano describes the posy in a ring as

“ ‘ For all the world like cutler’s poetry
Upon a knife,—Love me, and leave me not.’ ”

The remainder of the evening was occupied by Mr. Thos. Wright, F.S.A., who delivered a discourse on the progress and present state of the excavations and discoveries made at Wroxeter, in Shropshire, laying before the meeting numerous plans, drawings, and antiquities, relating to the ancient Roman station of Uriconium. These observations were regarded as preparatory to a full detail, which, with illustrations, will appear in the *Journal*.¹ The thanks of the meeting were voted to Mr. Wright for his valuable and interesting communication.

JUNE 8.

T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected :

Swynfen Jervis, esq., Barleston Hall, Staffordshire.
John Christopher Pawle, esq., New Inn, Strand.
Rev. C. F. Wyatt, Forest Hill, Wheatley, Oxon.
Henry Sadler Mitchell, esq., Great Prescott-street.
Cornelius Carter, esq., 77, Grosvenor-street.
Thos. Wm. Davies, esq., Lonsdale-road, Barnes.
John Scott, esq., King William-street.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

To the Author. Survey of the Early Geography of Western Europe. By Henry Lawes Long. 8vo. 1859.

„ „ Remarks on a Line of Earthworks known as “Offa’s Dyke.” By George Ormerod, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A. 4to. 1859. (Not published.)

To the Archaeological Institute. Archæological Journal. No. 61. 8vo. 1859.

Mr. G. H. Baskcomb exhibited letters patent of king William and queen Mary, dated 22 Sept., anno 3 (A.D. 1691), granting to John Barkstead, of the city of London, merchant, the privilege, for fourteen years, of using an invention made by him “for making of calicoes, muslins, and other fine cloths of the sort, out of cotton wool of the growth and product of our plantations in the West Indies, to as great a perfection as those that are brought over and imported hither from Calcutt and other places in East India.” With the great seal dependent, in yellow wax.

Mr. T. Wakeman exhibited an ampulla-shaped reliquary of glass, nearly two inches and a quarter high, mounted in silver-gilt, and painted in the interior, representing the Annunciation and St. Francis de Assisi

¹ See pp. 205-224, and 311-317, *ante*, and to be continued in succeeding numbers of the *Journal*.

receiving the stigmata. It opens with a hinge at the bottom of the vessel, and has a catch at top and lateral loops for suspension. This curious object is of Italian fabric, *circa* 1600.

Mr. Wakeman likewise produced a glass *etui*, about four inches in length, mounted in gold, elegantly enameled with coloured flowers and birds, and enriched with gilding. The knob for pressing back the spring is set with a ruby. Of Italian fabric, of the early part of the eighteenth century.

Mr. S. Wood called attention to a choice example of Valenciennes lace, of most delicate fabric and elegant design. It is about two inches and a half wide, and may be assigned to the end of the seventeenth, or early part of the eighteenth, century. The distinguishing features of Valenciennes, are, that it is flat, and has neither "tracing-thread" nor "pearling", as in Mechlin, Brussels, etc.

Mr. T. Ingall exhibited a trader's token of the seventeenth century: *obv.*, AT Y^E GENERAL MUNKES; in the field, W^MR.; *rev.*, HEAD IN CHVRCH LANE; in the field, bare-headed, full-faced bust in armour. This piece does not occur in the Beaufoy cabinet; where, however, are two Westminster tokens displaying the same sign, viz., *obv.*, WILL. SLIDD. SYTLER TO Y^E GVARD (head of general Monk); *rev.*, AT ST IAMESES. HIS HALF PENY; in the field, W^SL.; and *obv.*, RICHARD WASHBOVRN AT THE; in the field, Monk's head, and D. A. (duke of Albemarle); *rev.*, TILT YARD. SYTLER. 1660; in the field, HIS HALF PENNY R^WA. The location of Church-lane is by no means certain. In the Beaufoy cabinet are two tokens inscribed CHVRCH LANE, which the writer of the catalogue of this collection places in Whitechapel.

Dr. Kendrick exhibited a leaden medal commemorative of the acquittal of the seven bishops, June 29, 1688. *Obv.*, profile busts of Sancroft, Lloyd, Ken, Turner, Lake, White, and Trelawney, within circlets inscribed GVIL. EP. CANTV.; GV. EP. SASA.; I. E. BA & WEL.; FRA. EP. ELY; I. EP. CICES.; I. EP. PET. B.; I. EP. BRI.; *rev.*, a church, the spire clasped by a hand from heaven, two men in front, with pickaxe and spade, THE GATES OF HELL SHALL NOT PREVAILE AGAINST IT; on the edge, VPON THIS ROCK HAVE I BVILT MY CHVRCH. See Pinkerton's *Medals of England*, plate xl, fig. 5.)

Mr. G. G. Adams also produced a brass medal of the seven bishops, bearing their full-faced busts, with mitres above and names beneath, surrounded by the words, WISDOM HATH BVILDED HER HOVS, SHE HATH HEWEN OVT HER 7 PILLERS; *rev.*, the church and heavenly arm, and a Jesuit with a spade, and Franciscan with a pickaxe; legend, THE GATES OF HELL SHALL NOT PREVAILE. Mr. Adams possesses an oil painting of the seven bishops, arranged in a similar way as on the medal.

Mr. W. H. Forman exhibited a beautiful example of the "ink-horn and penner" of the second half of the sixteenth century. They are

wrought of bronze, or rather latten; the ink-vessel being of an elegant vase shape, richly sculptured with foliage and animals, and united to the penner by small chains. The penner is cylindrical, seven inches and five-eighths long, and decorated all over with a seal like pattern, etc. These specimens are of Italian fabric. European ink-horns and penners are of great rarity. In Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations* is engraved a leathern penner, said to have been left at Waddington Hall, Yorkshire, by Henry VI, after his defeat at Towton. And in Mr. Cuming's collection is an early ink-horn wrought, not of metal, like Mr. Forman's bottle, but of *real horn*. It was recovered from Fleet ditch in 1846.

Mr. Gibbs exhibited sketches of two great black-jacks, or bombards, still preserved at Knole House, Kent. The one is sixteen inches high, and eleven inches diameter at the base; the other fifteen inches high, and twelve inches diameter at the base.

Mr. T. Wright, F.S.A., exhibited the drawing of a capital found recently at Wroxeter. It is a good deal mutilated, but will shew that the houses of Uriconium were not wanting in architectural ornament. In relation to the progress making in the excavations, Mr. Wright observes: "We are at present excavating a very extensive mansion. A court, forty feet square, paved with small bricks in herring-bone pattern, adjoined the street. The two sides of this court are formed of small rooms, ten to twelve feet square, which some of the articles found in them would lead us to believe were shops and workshops. At the back of the court was a building, which has been as yet but slightly examined; but which was, perhaps, a sort of crypto-porticus. Crossing this, we have come to a smaller inner court laid with flag-stones; and at the back of this court stood evidently the grand apartments of the mansion, which the men are now just entering. The capital represented in the drawing was found in the outer court of this mansion; and it is probable that we shall find other objects of a similar kind when we uncover the middle of the court. The capital is three feet high." (It will be duly recorded in Mr. Wright's papers on Uriconium in the *Journal*.)

Mr. Syer Cuming read the following paper

ON BATTERSEA ENAMELS.

"Whilst the justly admired products of the ateliers of Limoges are ardently coveted by the connoisseur, and the names of the artists therein employed have become as household words among us, few seem to care for, or indeed scarcely know of, those curious, neat, and rare enamels on copper, which, a century since, were fabricated at Battersea in the county of Surrey. The origin and extinction of this manufactory were so sudden and obscure, its career so brief, its merits so unappreciated, that but slight materials exist wherewith to compose its history. Horace Walpole had three Battersea enamels, and in his catalogue of the Strawberry

Hill collection (1784, p. 16), he says, 'it was a manufacture stamped with a copper-plate, supported by alderman Jansen, but failed'; and this seems the sum and substance of the information possessed upon the subject.¹

"Judging from the devices on the Battersea enamels, and more especially from the costume of the figures, we are led to believe that their fabrication began towards the close of the reign of George II, and was carried on for about fifteen years after the accession of George III. They are of a peculiar description, not painted like those of Limoges, but printed in red and black ink; and present various social and mythologic groups, scenery, vases and flowers, birds, and portraits of some of the celebrities of the middle of the eighteenth century. The paste of these enamels is exceedingly good, of a clear white hue; the decorations well defined without harshness; and the plaques are of a round and an oval form, varying from about an inch, to upwards of three inches in height, and intended to be set in trinketry, the tops of snuff and patch boxes, heads of drawer-handles, and curtain-pins, and other items of use and ornament.²

"The portraits are undoubtedly the most important and interesting matters occurring on Battersea enamels. George II, and his son Frederick prince of Wales, were two out of the three examples possessed by Walpole; and I place before the association an exceedingly fine enamel, bearing a three-quarter bust turned to the right, in flowing wig, lace cravat and embroidered robes, which is *said* to be the portrait of Robert Walpole, earl of Orford. This plaque is of an oval form, three inches and five eighths high, by two inches and seven eighths wide, printed in red, in a clear and effective manner, and may be classed among the largest and best productions of the Battersea manufactory.

"I have likewise a female portrait printed in black, on a circular plaque above one inch and a half in diameter, set in the front of a curtain-pin. This is a three-quarter bust to the right, the hair raised very high, and covered at top by an ample cap trimmed with ribbons. In spite of this unbecoming attire, the face beneath it still looks bewitching, and is conjectured to be that of Maria, duchess of Gloucester, and widow of James, earl of Waldegrave. The dress fixes its period between the years 1772 and 1775.

"Walpole had 'a kingfisher and ducks of the Battersea enamel'; but neither birds nor flowers often occur, and views do not seem to have been much in favour, at least very few have come under my notice, and those

¹ Stephen Theodore Janssen was alderman of Bread-street ward, and served the office of sheriff in 1749-50. He was lord mayor in 1755, and died in 1765.

² The first Battersea enamels I became acquainted with were two oval plaques with vases of flowers in black, set in curtain-pins, employed for the supports of a hearth-brush and kettle-holder in an old fashioned apartment.

I have seen, are mostly of rather poor execution. As an example, I exhibit a circular plaque about one inch five-sixteenths in diameter, on which is delineated in black, a little church by the bank of a river, with trees, and minute figures of a lady and gentleman *vis-à-vis*. It is set in the head of a small curtain-pin, and forms a pleasing object.

“The purely mythological groups are far from common; but I am enabled to produce a beautiful example printed in red, on a circular plaque, two inches and a quarter in diameter. We here see Venus seated on clouds, tantalizing Cupid by withholding his bow and arrow. Whoever may have been the designer of this device, there is a grace and freedom in the drawing which bespeaks the hand of a master.

“The majority of subjects delineated on Battersea enamels are scenes in pastoral and polite life, with a dash of allegory in their conception. This trait is well shown in three examples to which our attention is called by Mr. A. Thompson. They are, as usual, oval plaques, set in gold frames arranged to be worn as a bracelet, and a truly elegant trinket do they form. The devices are printed in black, and are supposed to typify love, harmony and fidelity. One of these specimens has its back speckled with purple and white; a second with blue and white,—the first instances I have met with of enamels of this manufacture with coloured reverses.

“Mr. Thompson has also succeeded in obtaining for exhibition a fourth plaque, being, with the exception of colour, a duplicate of the third setting of the bracelet, and of much interest as proving how matters were managed at Battersea. This plaque is in red, and measures an inch and a half in height; just three-eighths larger than the one in the bracelet. To bring about this diversity of size, a portion of the print for the smaller plaque was cut off before its application to the paste, thus showing how the same device impressed from the same plate, was adapted to enamels of different dimensions and different colours. The reverse of the present specimen is speckled with blue and white. This plaque belongs to the latest period of the manufacture, the relative ages of the enamels being easily detected by the different intensity of colour. In the earlier, we find the reds clear and decided, but as the fabric neared to extinction, the brilliancy became lost in a brownish tinge, such as is seen in the oval now placed before you.

“All the examples we have described were made as separate plaques, to be employed as decoratives to various objects, but the artists and artificers of Battersea sometimes, though rarely, soared above the productions of mere accessories, and published articles composed entirely of enamel. In proof, Mr. Gunston exhibits an elegant snuff-box of this material, mounted with hinge and rims of gilded metal. It is an inch and three-eighths high, and nearly three inches and three-eighths long. It is printed in black; the subject on the lid being a richly wooded garden

with terrace and steps, down which a gentleman is assisting a lady and little boy. On the front of the box is a fishing party, and on the back a lady and gentleman seated on a bank, attended by a dog and sheep. This bijou combines in itself scarce form, excellent example of paste, and good designs, which remind us of the pencil of Francis Hayman.

“The printed enamels of Battersea, with their monotonous hues of red and black, and figures in the ponderous habits of the eighteenth century, cannot pretend to rank with the painted plaques of France and Germany, rich in classic scenes and gorgeous colouring; but as home-devised enamels, strictly national in origin, character, and treatment, they deserve to be remembered and preserved, and their existence rescued from oblivion. Skilful manipulators must have prepared the paste, draughtsmen and engravers of no mean craft aided in their fabric, but neither name nor signature marks their work, and who they were is still a mystery. The Battersea manufactory rose and fell; Janssen patronized it, Walpole records the fact, but beyond this, its story remains an unwritten chapter in the history of English art.”

The Rev. E. Kell made a communication relative to the discovery of a Roman villa at Carisbrooke, in the Isle of Wight. The excavations are still in progress, tessellated pavements, pottery, glass, hair pins, coins, bones of animals, oyster shells, etc., have been obtained; and when the operations are completed, a full account will be given in the *Journal*. A paper by sir Gardner Wilkinson, V.P., “On the Rock Basins at Dartmoor, and some British Remains in this Island,” was read, and will also appear with illustrations in the *Journal*.

In adjourning the public meetings of the association for the session until November, the chairman took occasion to congratulate the members upon the proceedings during the present year, and to announce that the president, the earl of Carnarvon, had appointed the congress to be held at Newbury, commencing on the 12th and terminating on the 17th of September.

NOVEMBER 23.

T. J. PETTIGREW, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates elected during the recess were announced :

Right rev. lord bishop of Oxford, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., Palace, Cuddesdon.

John Walter, esq., M.P., 40, Upper Grosvenor-street.

Richard Benyon, esq., 34, Grosvenor-square.

Thomas Wright, esq., F.S.A., Sydney-street, Brompton.

R. R. Madden, esq., M.R.I.A., Dublin Castle.

James Heywood Markland, esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Bath.

Silas Palmer, M.D., Newbury.

Rev. William Jackson, M.A., Fortfield, Weston-super-Mare.

N. E. Stevens, esq., Dorset House, Tunbridge Wells.
 Robert Hutchinson, esq., mayor of Cape Coast Castle.
 William Landon, esq., Inverness-villa, New-road, Hammersmith.
 William D. Bennett, esq., the Pavilion, Weedon.
 Henry Lee Jortin, esq., Woolley-lodge, Maidenhead.
 Henry Howe Mason, esq., Newbury.
 J. H. Mason, esq., the Firs, Newbury.
 Luke Lousley, Esq., Hampstead Norris, Berks.
 Rev. T. B. Levy, M.A., Knights Emham Rectory, Andover.
 Charles H. Scott, esq., 109, Strand.
 Henry Hill, esq., Upper Mall, Hammersmith.
 William Bridges, esq., 8, Young-street, Kensington.
 Henry B. Hodson, esq., 107, Guildford-street.
 Thomas Brand, esq., East Sutton, near Stedmore.
 Henry Godwin, Esq., F.S.A., Speen Hill, Newbury.
 George E. Hughes, esq., Offley-place, Luton.
 Thomas Hughes, esq., F.S.A., 3, Old-square, Lincoln's Inn.
 Henry Keens, esq., Newbury.
 John Alexander, esq., Marsh House, Newbury.
 Rev. Nicholas G. Ridley, M.A., Hollington House, Newbury.
 Thomas Read, M.D., Hornton-street, Kensington.
 Robert Fuller Graham, esq., Greenham, Newbury.
 Charles Rooke, M.D., Belle Vue House, Scarborough.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

To the Society. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie.

Tom. xxii de la Collection. Paris, 1858. 4to.

„ „ ———— Partie 1. Tom. xxiii. Paris, 1858: 4to.

„ „ Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society,
 for 1858. Taunton, 1859. 8vo.

„ „ Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. vol. x.
 Washington, 1858. 4to.

„ „ ———— Annual Report. 1859. 8vo.

„ „ Col. Graham's Map of Chicago Harbour and Bar. 1858.
 Folio.

„ „ The Journal of the Archæological Institute. No. 62.
 London, 1859. 8vo.

„ „ Canadian Journal of the Institute for May, July,
 September and November, 1859. Toronto. 8vo.

„ „ Proceedings of the Royal Society, Nos. 35 and 36. Lon-
 don, 1859. 8vo.

His grace the duke of Northumberland. Surveys of the Roman Wall, and
 other Remains in the North of England, by Henry Mac Lauchlan,
 at the expense of the duke of Northumberland, K.G. Fol. 1858.

„ „ Memoirs written during a Survey of the Roman Wall, by Henry Mac Lauchlan. London. 8vo. 1858. (For private circulation.)

The Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine, from July to Nov. 1859. 8vo.

The Author. Inquiry concerning the Death of Amy Robsart, etc., by T. J. Pettigrew; read at the Newbury congress of the association. London, 1859. 8vo.

„ „ On the Arming of Levies, in the Hundred of Wirrol, in the County of Chester; and the Introduction of Small Fire Arms in the place of Bows and Arrows, by Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. Liverpool, 1859. 8vo.

To Mrs. Kerr. A Series of Photographs and explanations, Die Kirche des Klosters bei Kurtea de Argisch. Folio and 4to.

Mr. Andrewes, mayor of Reading, exhibited through the treasurer, the pommel of a sword and an iron head found at Silchester. The former is an interesting object, being of iron inlaid with silver. (See plate 30, fig. 6.) Its appearance does not favour the high antiquity which might be assigned to it from the place in which it was discovered; neither can it be regarded as belonging to the Roman period. Two similar objects are, however, figured and two others specified in Mr. C. R. Smith's *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, as occurring among the rev. Bryan Faussett's collection of antiquities. One of these (page 11), is described as being nearly spherical, and the concavity filled with lead. It has been gilded, and has four small heads in relief impressed upon it; it measures two inches in diameter, and is also two inches in height, and weighs 5oz. 13dwts. and 15grs., and was discovered in a grave, No. 23, at Gilton Town. Another (grave No. 56) also of iron, silver and gilded and full of lead, but much swollen with rust, so as to conceal its precise figure. The blade of a short sword was attached to this specimen, being conclusive as to its nature (p. 21). Another (grave No. 66, p. 22), of iron filled with lead; and a fourth (No. 89, p. 29), which is figured of its original size, and presents a very handsome object. It is described by Mr. Faussett as eight square, and neatly inlaid with gold and silver; it has two heads in relief on opposite sides, and each head is surrounded with a kind of scroll. This had no lead within. Mr. Faussett regarded it as being composed of a kind of steel, not hurt by lying in the ground,—a sort of white hard metal of which buckles have been found to have been made, and met with in the Kentish graves. Mr. Smith from their ornamentation pronounces an opinion adverse to their antiquity, and refers them, apparently with good reason, to the period of the *Renaissance*, commencing in the latter part of the fifteenth century. To this period Mr. Pettigrew felt disposed to assign Mr. Andrewes's specimen, which measures six and a quarter inches in circumference, and two inches and

a half in height. The pommel is of iron and is empty. The ornament represented in the view on the plate (fig. 6), is repeated on the opposite side, separated by an ornamental division,—these are of silver. The ground of the whole has originally been gilt, and the traces of the gilding are still discernible.

The other object is of iron and filled with lead; it presents a female bust with a necklace round the neck (fig. 7), and probably served as the ornament of a sword.

Mr. Thomas Wright, F.S.A., exhibited several casts from the impressions of the feet of dogs on Roman tiles, made before the tiles were hardened. Also a small Roman painter's palette, in alabaster, with the name either of the maker or of the painter to whom it belonged, incised in small characters on the back, and a small iron box of Roman workmanship, with the cover on, and hermetically sealed by the progress of decomposition; but through an accidental fracture at one edge, the interior appears to be filled with some kind of wood. These were all obtained from the excavations now going on at Wroxeter.

Mr. Bateman forwarded an account of some Anglo-Saxon antiquities procured by him from a spot near Caistor, in Lincolnshire. They consisted of a bronze pin for the hair, with three small triangular shreds of the same metal attached by a ring, for the purpose of making a tinkling sound, like to some specimens in the British Museum exhumed from the Livonian graves by Dr. Bahr, and of which no previous example found in England has been produced, and one only by Worsaae in Denmark; a pair of bronze girdle-hangers with traces of gilding; a small bronze buckle; a bronze beaded ring; a bronze fibula silvered; a bronze ring fibula, and a fibula of silver gilt, ornamented with niello and settings of garnet. There was also an iron spear with an unusually contracted socket, and an iron key similar to one figured in lord Braybrooke's *Saxon Obsequies*, plate 39. These together with plain rings, beads of necklace, etc., will be further described and figured in a future *Journal*.

The remainder of the evening was occupied in the reading of a paper by the rev. Henry Jenkins, of Stanway, Essex, "On Cæsar's Passage of the Thames and his Route afterwards," which gave rise to an animated discussion on the part of Mr. Vere Irving, Mr. Black, and Mr. Lewin. The subject will appear in a future number of the *Journal*, with a map in illustration.

DECEMBER 7.

JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected:

A. Murray, esq., of St. Enoch's-square, Glasgow.

Dr. E. Bullock, 12, Old Manor-street, Chelsea.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To the Society. Zeitschrift des Vereins zur Erforschung der Rheinischen Geschichte und Alterthümer, Mainz, 1859. 8vo.

To the Author. An Analysis of Ancient Domestic Architecture in Great Britain. By F. F. Dollman, and J. R. Jobbins. London, 1859. 4to. Part I.

Mr. T. N. Brushfield, of Chester, presented to the Association a copy of a ground plan of the Druidical circle on Middleton Moor, termed Arbor Lowe. The plan was made in the year 1823 by two individuals, natives of the immediate district, both known to himself as being very careful and painstaking in everything they did. Dr. Pegge has described the circle in the *Archæologia*, vol. vii. Mr. Bateman also, in his *Vestiges of Antiquities of Derbyshire*, p. 109 *et seq.*, has given a full description of it. All the stones lie on the ground, and as a general rule, have a tendency to point towards the centre ;—they are not *blocks* like those at Stonehenge, but are rather to be called *slabs* ;—further they also differ, in being much less of any definite shape.—There is no reason to suppose that they were ever in a perpendicular position, except, perhaps the central ones. The rampart of earth is now less in extent than is shown by the plan, and the barrow is known by the name of Gib Hill. It was opened by major Rooke in 1782, and again by Mr. William Bateman in 1824, the results in neither instance being very satisfactory. It was left to the son of the latter, our esteemed associate Mr. Thomas Bateman, to find out its peculiar construction, which he did in January, 1848 ; for the particulars of which, see *ante*, pp. 151-153, and illustration on plate 12.

Mr. C. Brent exhibited a large iron key of the close of the fifteenth century, and a few Roman and mediæval coins, found in June 1859, in digging a sewer in Mercery Lane, Canterbury, close to Christ Church gate.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming laid before the meeting a sketch of a purse received from Mr. J. Brent. The original was formerly in the collection of Mr. Crow of Faversham, and is now in the Canterbury Museum, where it is labelled “ Oliver Cromwell’s purse”. Mr. Brent describes it as “ of silk-velvet lined with leather, steel bow, clasp, and appendages ; about eight inches long, and five inches in width. It opens by a spring, upon pressing down the central knob, and appears to be from one hundred and fifty to two hundred years old”. Mr. Cuming said that judging from the sketch transmitted by Mr. Brent, he considered the purse to belong to the close of the seventeenth century, and could not regard it as a relic of the protector, but as a dole-bag of an almoner, which had been worn on stated occasions, suspended by the steel hook from the girdle, in a similar way with the purses of a much earlier time. The present

example is cognate in character and period with one described in the *Journal* (p. 267 *ante*).

Mr. Alfred Thompson exhibited a French purse of the time of Louis XV, but in which the form of the earlier *porte monnaie* is preserved. It may be described as a little bag of knitted silk, the mouth drawn together by long cords of red and yellow silk. The prevailing colour of the purse is green, but having a red vandyke round the upper part, beneath which is a band of thirteen blue *fleurs-de-lis*, and lower down the same number of red strawberries, with a date of 1764 worked in white towards the bottom, which is decorated with a pink silk tuft. The edges of the lower part are overlaid with silver twist, terminating with rosettes of pink silk ribbon.

Mr. Sherratt, jun., exhibited a fine specimen of a Roman denarius. It is of the plebeian family of Aelia or Allia, of which there are no less than twenty-four varieties. This one presents on the obverse the winged helmed head of Rome, with + at the nape of the neck. The reverse gives Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri, on horseback, galloping to the right with their lances in rest. Under them P(ublius) PÆTVS, and in the exergue ROMA. Akerman (*Roman Coins*, i, 20), asserts it to be the least common of the gens. Admiral Smyth, in his *Descriptive Catalogue of the Duke of Northumberland's Cabinet*, considers that in secondary but sound conservation it is not rare (p. iv). He speaks of it as "a very archaic denarius, both in regard to emblem and fabric," and infers that it may have been struck when P. Ælius Pætus was magister equitum, in B.C. 202. It seems to have been before the time of Sylla, when the several emblems were mingled, with allusions to the name, deeds, or peculiarities of the families. The Ælii, though early distinguished by public rank and office, obtained their utmost celebrity under the empire, when they were dignified by Hadrian and the Antonines.

Mr. Sherratt also exhibited a small brass Urbs Roma, another of Licinius and a Constantine, all of ordinary occurrence.

Mr. Pettigrew communicated the following extract from a letter he had received from J. O. Halliwell, esq., dated, Bangor, October 21st, 1859:

"The numerous remains of antiquity in North Wales are now very rapidly diminishing. Agriculture is advancing so much, even in apparently the most unpromising districts, that the relics of the ancient inhabitants of the principality are made too often to give place to the plough. Under these circumstances, any little note of obscure remains may be worth recording. At the base of the mountain called Moelycci, is an interesting specimen of an ancient British camp, which is probably unnoticed in any work. A small portion of it has been levelled by the plough, but about two-thirds of it is quite perfect. It partakes of the usual character of such remains; a circular flat top, surrounded by a wide trench, beneath which is another embankment, both circular. The

approach to this camp from Bangor is through Landegai, then turning to the right past a farm house called Cefu-y-coed, until the base of the mountain is reached. The camp is about a quarter of a mile from the farm house at the foot of Moelyeci."

Mr. G. E. Wentworth, of Woolley Park, Wakefield, communicated the following, addressed to the treasurer :

"I thought, perhaps, it might be worth while mentioning to you as a slight notice of one of the old deeds of the lords Arundell of Wardour, as I see you visited Wardour at the Salisbury Congress, that I found this notice of one of the deeds of the lords Arundell on the back of an old paper. 'Thomas, lord Arundell of Wardour, in the sixteenth year of the reign of Charles I, granted to Thomas Dally of Broadclif, in the county of Devon, of the first sheave mowing, and crop of two acres and half of meadow in, with meadow next within the gate of the same meadow, lying in the parish of Broadclif aforesaid, for the remainder of a term of ninety-nine yeares, if John Dally, and Edward Dally, and Anthony Woosley should so long happen to live, under the yearly rent of 6s. 5½*d.* granted by lease, and Thomas Dally, his son, was possessed of the same.' "

Mr. Wentworth also communicated the following orders by general Lambert, in relation to the castle of Knaresborough :

By major-generall Lambert, commander-in-chief in these northern parts.

"Whereas, the committee of the militia of the countie of York, did formerly give directions for calling the inhabitants of the Wapentake of Claro to labour in the sleighting of the castle of Knaresbrough, according to the severall orders of parliament in that behalf; and being now informed that divers of the said inhabitants do neglect to send in men to assist in that work, and such labourers as are sent from any towne, do for the most part neglect the service, coming late, going away early, and standing idle whilst there, so as the castle is at present in danger to be surprised, if any enemie should attempt it; and in regard, the said committee doth not act as formerly; it is therefore ordered, that everie pettie constable within the said weapentake doe, upon the eight day of January instant, send a certain number of able labourers with spades, shovels, pick-axes, hacks, mattocks, or gavelocks, proportioning their numbers according the book of rates, (that is to say), one labourer for everie pennie charged on the constablerie in the said book of rates, each labourer to work from half hour after seven a clock in the morning, and to continue untill half hour after four a clock in the afternoon, resting only for one hour at dinner time. And to the end the said work may be effectually performed, everie constable is to levie weekly, so much money as will pay each labourer his wages after eight pence per diem, and bring the same to Knaresbrough, and there pay it to the hands of John Roundell and Robert Hill, who are therewith to pay each labourer

his wages proportionably, according to the hours he shall labour at the said work; and deduct out of his said wages for so many hours as hee shall neglect. And each labourer, with the respective constable of the town that sends them, are to appear (when they come to work), in the Towlebooth of Knaresbrough, where Mr. Richard Ellis is to register their appearance, and also register what summe of money each constable shall deliver to the said John Roundell or Robert Hill for paiment of their wages; and is likewise to register what wages is paid to everie severall labourer, that no abuse be done to the country. And for such towns as have not sent in their proportion of labourers for the last fourteen dayes, according to the former warrants, the governour of Knaresbrough castle, is hereby ordered (upon notice given him by Mr. Stockdale, Mr. Rodes, and Mr. Barrowby), to send a partie of souldiers to quarter upon the constablerie, untill they send in money after the rate of eight pence per diem for each labourer charged on them, for the time so neglected, and pay the same to the said John Roundell and Robert Hill, and register the same with the said Mr. Ellis. And the said governour is further ordered to do the like also, in cases where any townes shall make the like defaults for the time ensuing. And all the said moneys so to be sent in and paid for former defaults, and all other moneys to be sent in for hyering of labourers for the time to come, from such townes as send money; and no labourers are to be issued and disposed of for the wages of workmen, according as shall be appointed by the said Mr. Stockdale, Mr. Rodes, and Mr. Barrowby, to whom the care and charge of this service is commended, and power given them to appoint overseers for the worke, and give directions therein upon all occasions, as they shall see expedient."

Given at Towlerton, under my hand and seale, the fourth day of January 1648.

J. LAMBERT.

"To the Cunstable of Hunburton cū Milly, vii penny townē. For every six dayes, xxviii^s. January 25, 1648.

"To Mr. John Roundell, by Robert Brigham, half of this sum aboue, 14s. Jan. 30."

"Rec^d of Mr Aldbury for his moietie for Hunburton, 17s."

"June 17, 1648. By the Committee for the Militia of the Countie of York.

"In regard of the present necessitie that the forces now at Leeds be supplied with victuall, it is thought fit and ordered that the inhabitants of your township do forthwith bring in bread, cheise, beefe, butter, & other provision, amounting to 11*d*., being the proportion charged upon your constablerie; and deliver the same to Mr. Rouland Furnis, at Tho. Walker's house in Leeds, upon Tuesday y^e 20 of this instant, since



authorized to receive, who shall give ticket for the same; and herein (as the safety of the countie is concerned in the said service), your particular charge will be considered and relied by the remoter parts of this countie, or some other way.

“Signed in the name, and by the order, of the committee for the militia,

THO. DARCEY.

“*Rates* :—Flesh meate, 3*d.* pd.; bread, 10lb.; butter, 3; cheese, 2; dates, p. lb., 3*s.*; hens, chickens, capons, or any other provision, for y^e commanders.

“To the constables of Aldborough, Hunburton, cu Milly, to every of you.

“Aldborough . . . 18*s.* 4*d.*

Hunburton cu Milly 11*s.* 8*d.*

“You are to bring these somes either in provision or moneys; and if you fail, it will presently be fetcht by soldiers; and you are to send copies one to another with speed.”

Dr. Kendrick laid before the meeting a series of eight Porto Bello medals, struck on the occasion of the capture of that place by admiral Vernon; and one on the taking of Carthagera.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming also produced four Porto Bello medals, a Carthagera medal, and a leaden disc with Vernon, found in the Thames in 1846; upon which he made some observations, and described their several peculiarities.

A paper by Mr. Wakeman, “On some Encaustic Tiles discovered on the Site of the Priory of Monmouth,” was read, and will appear, with illustrations, in a future *Journal*.

The rev. Beale Poste communicated a paper, “On the Date of the Battle of Kaltraeth, otherwise the Battle of Gododin or Cor-Eiddin”, in reference to a former communication, “On the Date of the Battle of Kaltraez”, by Mr. George Vere Irving (see pp. 237-245 *ante*); which, together with Mr. Irving’s reply, as delivered at this meeting, will be printed in a future *Journal*.

The chairman then adjourned the Association over the Christmas, until Wednesday January 11.

ERRATA AND ADDITIONS.

Page 82, line 7, for *sit* read *est*.

„ 83, „ 20, for *sit* read *est*.

„ 247, note 1, for *Turner* read *Tanner*.

Plate 25 exhibits the paalstab and ring, belonging to Dr. Kendrick, discovered in Lancashire, and described in vol. xiv for 1858, p. 269. It is referred to in Mr. H. Syer Cuming's paper, "On British Antiquities found in Lancashire," at p. 236 of the present volume.

INDEX.

A.

- ADAMS (G. G.) exhibits a Roman aequipondium, 257
 ———— statue of Jupiter, *ib.*
 ———— large bombard, 342
 ———— head of a demi-lance, 345
 ———— brass medal of the seven bishops, 351
 ADE (C.), obituary notice of, 173
 Aelia, a fine denarius of, exhibited, 360
 AILESBUURY (Marquis of), address at the Salisbury Congress, 109
 AINSLIE (C.), exhibits a charact fermail found in the Thames, 266
 ———— spur, *temp.* Ric. III., 267
 Amesbury church visited, 192
 Ancient spindles, Mr. Cumming on, 306-310
 ANDREWES (J.), exhibits antiquities found at Silchester, 357-8
 Anglo-Saxon antiquities found at Caistor, 358
 ANTROBUS (Sir E. bart.), hospitable reception of the Association, 192
 Arbor Lowe, plan of, 359
 Arundell (Lord), deed of, 361
 Ash, Saxon spear-head found at, 290
 Associates elected in 1858, 161; resigned, 163;
 deceased, *ib.*; erased, *ib.*
 Auditors' report for 1855, 162

B.

- BASKCOMB (G. II.), exhibits letters patent relating to calicoes, etc., 359
 BATEMAN (T.), exhibits seal of Christopher Sutton, an ivory matrix, 267
 ———— on excavations at Gib Hill tumulus, 151-153
 ———— on Anglo-Saxon antiquities found at Caistor, 358
 Battersea enamels, paper on, 352-355
 Bellry tower of Salisbury cathedral, drawing of, exhibited, 284
 Belgian coins described, 277, 278
 Bemerton church visited, 177
 Berenger, prior of the Hospitaliers, seal of, exhibited, 275
 BERGHE (J. B.) on Belgian coins, 277, 278
 Bishops, medals of the acquittal of the seven, exhibited, 351
 Black-jack and bombard, paper on, 339-341, exhibitions of, by Mr. Meyrick, Mr. Adams, Mr. Gibbs, and Mr. Huppisley, 343-344, 352
 BLACK (W. H.), examination of municipal archives at Salisbury, 111, 112
 ———— of MSS. at the cathedral library, 154-176, 189
 ———— of documents relating to Trinity Hospital, 198
 ———— on Stonehenge, 192
 Boy bishop, Mr. Planché on the effigy of, in Salisbury cathedral, 121-124
 Bredon, Romano-British remains found at, 337-8

- BRENT (C.) exhibits iron key and Roman coins found at Canterbury, 359
 ———— (J.), exhibits drawing of a dole-bag called Cromwell's purse, 359
 BRIGGS (J. J.), on the discovery of Romano-British remains at Bredon, 337-8
 ———— a stone vessel found at Melbourne, 339
 Bristol exchange columns, communications relating to, 268, 275, 276
 Britford church visited, 199
 British camp, remains of one near Bangor, 360-1
 Bronze hand of statue exhibited, 337
 BRUSHFIELD (T. N.), presents plau of Arbor Lowe, 359
 Buckingham (Duke of), monument of, in Britford church, proved not to pertain to him, 199-201
 Burcombe church visited, 177
 BUXTON (Sir E. N., bart.), obituary notice of, 165-6

C.

- Cæsar's passage of the Thames, 358
 Caistor in Lincolnshire, Anglo-Saxon antiquities found at, 358
 Calicoes, muslins, etc., letters patent relating to, 359
 Canterbury, Roman and mediæval coins, key, etc., found at, 359
 Carisbrooke, Roman villa at, 355
 Cascabel of bronze found at Cheshunt, 284
 Cathedral porch at Salisbury visited, 110
 CAW (J. Y.), obituary notice of, 170, 171
 Cheshunt, a bronze escabel found at, 284
 Christina of Sweden, bronze medal of, exhibited, 272
 Clarendon, remains of the ancient palace of, visited, 203
 ———— Mr. Pettigrew's notes on, 246-248
 ———— park, elegant reception at, 203
 CLARKE (J.), exhibits a bronze matrix of seal, 267
 Clasp-knives, on the antiquity of, 318-350
 CLUTTON (J.), exhibits a chased watch-case, *temp.* Anne, 288
 Constantine the Great, coin of, found in the Tower ditch, 274
 Costrel, leathern, from Lincolnshire, exhibited, 289
 CUMING (H. S.), on memorials of Charles II connected with Wilts, 189-189
 ———— Celtic antiquities, exhumed in Lincolnshire and Dorsetshire, 235-239
 ———— British antiquities found in Lancashire, 231-236
 ———— ancient bijouterie, 271
 ———— exhibits bronze medal of Christina of Sweden, 272
 ———— on domestic censers, 280-282
 ———— on old English arrow-heads, 285
 ———— exhibits a sportsman's companion, of steel, *temp.* Will. III., 288
 ———— on ancient spindles, 306-310
 ———— on the black-jack and bombard, 339-344
 ———— exhibits plaque of enamel, 344
 ———— on the gilt, 345-6

CUMING (H. S.), on the antiquity of clasp-knives, 348-350
 ————— on Battersea enamels, 352-55
 ————— exhibits Porto Bello medals, 363
 Cunobeline, gold coin of, found in Oxfordshire, exhibited, 290
 CURLE (C.), exhibits a knife-handle of brass, 346
 ————— observations on, 346-348

D.

DAVIS (C. E.), on Salisbury cathedral, 46-62
 Demi-lance found at Staines, 345
 DEVONSHIRE (Duke of), obituary notice of, 164, 165
 DILKE (C. W.), elected an honorary member of the Association, 265: his services to archaeology, *ib.*; letter from, 266
 DILLON (Lady), exhibits a gold box, *temp.* Louis XVI., 272
 Dole bag in the Canterbury museum, 359
 Domestic censers exhibited, 280
 Dorsetshire, Celtic antiquities found in, 225-230
 DRAKE (Sir F.), knife belonging to, 349
 DUKE (Rev. E.) exhibits his collection of antiquities, 192, 193
 Durnford (Great) church, visited, 194

E.

Effigies in Salisbury cathedral, Mr. Planché on, 115-139
 Elizabeth, halfpenny of, exhibiting a porteuillis, 287
 Enamels made at Battersea, 352-355
 Eneastic tiles found at Monmouth Priory, 363
 ENGLISH (Old) arrow heads, Mr. Cumming on, 285
 Etui of Italian fabric exhibited, 351

F.

FANE (Rev. A.), on the contents of a barrow, 113
 FITZ-WALTER (Patrick), first earl of Salisbury, Mr. Planché on, 26-46
 FOERMAN (W. H.), exhibits a thurible, 13th sec., from Cologne, 282
 ————— seal of John, son of Howel Gor, 283
 ————— three brooches of Scotch manufacture, 283, 284
 ————— a highly wrought steel key, 15th sec., 286
 ————— lock of a snaphaunce musket, *ib.*
 ————— a triple-barrelled fine lock pistol, *ib.*
 ————— a casket from Lincolnshire, 281
 ————— bronze hand of a statue, 337
 ————— two bombards, 342
 ————— a cord-formed purse, 344
 ————— ink horn and penner, 351
 FRENCH (G. J.), on the ancient sculptured stones of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, 63-89
 Funeral cards, wrapper of, exhibited, 276, 277

G.

Gib Hill tumulus, examination of, 151-153
 GIBBS (E. M.), exhibits London tokens, 336
 Glass plaque of Spanish workmanship exhibited, 289
 GODWIN (G.), on early Christian buildings and their decorations, 151-111
 GUNSTON (T.), exhibits five Roman fibulae, 272
 ————— a collection of flint javelin points or arrow heads, 285
 ————— a British hunting spear found near Lincoln, *ib.*
 ————— a halfpenny of Elizabeth, 287

GUNSTON (T.), exhibits a coin of Cunobeline found in Oxfordshire, 290
 ————— Battersea enamels, 354

H.

HALL (J. R.), obituary notice of, 165
 Halle (John), hall of, remarks on, 19; visited, 110
 HALLIWELL (J. O.), extract from an ancient MS. relating to the death of King John, 285
 ————— presents a rare Lambeth token, 286
 ————— on the remains of a British camp near Bangor, 360-1
 HAMILTON (Dowager Duchess of), exhibits a Japan box with miniature by Petitot, 271
 HARROD (H.), on a supposed monument to the duke of Buckingham in Britford church, 199-201
 HILLS (W. G.), on round towers, 177
 HIPPLEY (H.), exhibits a large bombard, 343
 HORMAN-FISHER (R.), on proceedings against the recorder of Salisbury in the Star Chamber in 1632, 191-198
 ————— exhibits silver ring found in Suffolk, 272
 ————— a bronze cascade found at Cheshnut, 284
 Hospitaliers, lease relating to the, 158, 204
 Howell Gor, seal of John, son of, exhibited, 283

I.

INGALL (T.), exhibits traders' tokens, 351
 Ink horn and penner, exhibited, 351
 IRVING (G. V.), on treasure trove, 81-99, 273, 274
 ————— on Old Sarum, 177
 ————— the date of the battle of Kalltraez, 237-245
 ————— earth works at Old Sarum, 291-302
 Japan box with miniature by Petitot, exhibited, 271; another, exhibited by Mr. Zanzi, *ib.*
 JENKINS (Rev. H.), on Caesar's passage of the Thames, 358
 JERVIS (S.), exhibits a horse shoe found in Staffordshire, 289
 John, document relating to the death of, 285
 JONES (Rev. W.), on the merchants of the staple, 114
 Jupiter, a Florentine statue of, exhibited, 287

K.

Kalltraeth, on the date of the battle of, 363
 Kalltraez, on the date of the battle of, by Mr. Vere Irving, 237-245
 KELL (Rev. E.), on the remains of the priory of St. Dionysius, 278-280
 ————— on a Roman villa at Carisbrooke, 355
 KENDRICK (Dr.), on a paulstab and ring found in Lancashire, 235
 ————— exhibits terra cotta censers, 289
 ————— leaden medal of the seven bishops, 351
 ————— Porto Bello medals, 363
 Keys, seals, etc., exhibited by Mr. T. Wills, 288
 Knaresborough castle, orders relating to the siege of, 361-3
 Knife handle of brass exhibited, 346

L.

Lake house visited, 192-193
 Lambert (J.), on the Sarum Tonale MS., 302-305
 Lambeth token, a rare one presented, 286
 Lancashire, British antiquities found in, 231-236
 Lincolnshire, Celtic antiquities found in, 225-230
 Lock of a snaphaunce musket exhibited, 286
 London tokens, exhibited, 336
 LUTKS (Rev. W. C.), on the Salisbury bell-foundry, 111-160

M.

- Marden, on antiquities found at, 266
 Melbourne, stone vessel found at, 339
 MEYBECK (W.), exhibits a series of black-jacks, 313
 Moyleci, British camp at, 350-1
 Monmouth priory, encaustic tiles found at, 363
 MOORE (J.) on a quern found at West Coker, 339
 Moss (J. J.), obituary notice of, 170

N.

- NIGHTINGALE (Mr.), exhibits forged matrix of a seal, 315
 Nuremberg jettons found at Silchester, exhibited, 289

O.

- Obituary of associates in 1858, 161-173
 Officers and council elected for 1859-60, 163, 161
 Ogbury camp visited, 194
 Original documents, 201, 318

P.

- Pembroke Castle, Mr. Wakeman on, 153-159
 PETTINGREW (T. J.), on the antiquities of Wiltshire, 1-26
 ——— on Stonehenge, 3-9
 ——— Amesbury, 10-11
 ——— Old Sarum, 12
 ——— the churches of Salisbury, 16-18
 ——— Town of Salisbury, 18; half timber houses in, 19; hall of John Halle, *ib.*; hall in Market place, 21
 ——— on Clarendon, 22; Wilton, 23;
 Wardour castle, 25
 ——— on the monument in Britford church, 201-202
 ——— obituary notices of associates in 1858, 161-173
 ——— notes on the ancient palace of Clarendon, 246-261
 ——— on pommels of swords found at Silchester, 337-358
 PLANCHÉ (J. R.), on the pedigree of Patrick Fitz Walter, first earl of Salisbury, 26-46
 ——— sepulchral effigies in Salisbury cathedral, 115-130
 ——— exhibits the head of a Saxon spear found at Ash in Kent, 290
 POSTE (BEALE), on antiquities found at Marden in Kent, 266
 ——— on old Winchester, 268-271
 ——— on the date of the battle of Kalkreuth, 363
 Preston, letter from, during the rebellion, 289
 Proceedings of the Association, annual general meeting, 160-173, 265-290
 PRYCE (G.), on the Bristol exchange columns, 275, 276
 Purse of silk exhibited, 360

Q.

- Quern found at West Coker, 339

R.

- Riquary of glass exhibited, 350
 Rock-basins at Dartmoor, paper on, 355
 Roman coins found at Canterbury, 359
 ——— a-pupendum exhibited, 287
 ——— fibulae exhibited, 272
 ——— pottery and human remains found at Wyke, 283
 Romano-British remains found at Bredon, 337-8

S.

- Salisbury, Mr. Planché on the first earl of, 26-46
 ——— bell foundry, Rev. W. C. Lukis on, 141-50
 ——— bishop and dean of, welcome to the Association, 109
 ——— cathedral, Mr. Davis on, 46-62
 ——— effigies in, 115-120
 ——— library, MSS. in, examined, 171-176, 1-0
 ——— Mayor of, address at the Salisbury Congress, 107
 ——— municipal archives examined, 111, 112
 ——— proceedings against the recorder of, in 1632, 191-198
 ——— CONGRESS: Patrons, president, officers, and committee of, 105, 106; proceedings at, 107-111, 171-203; reception in the council chamber by the mayor and corporation, 107; the mayor's address, *ib.*; the marquis of Salisbury's address, 109; the bishop and dean of Salisbury's welcome, *ib.*; Mr. Pettigrew's introductory paper, *ib.*; visit to the hall of John Halle, 110; the poultry cross, churches of St. Thomas, St. Edward, and St. Martin, *ib.*; the cathedral porch, George in hostelry, *ib.*; meeting in the evening, Mr. Planché's paper on the first earl of Salisbury, *ib.*; examination of the municipal archives by Mr. Black, 111, 112; excursion to Old Sarum, 113; examination of the cathedral, and Mr. Davis's description of, *ib.*; reception at the palace by the bishop of Salisbury, 113; conversazione at, *ib.*; Mr. prebendary Fane's remarks on a barrow, *ib.*; rev. Mr. Jones on the merchants of the Staple, 114; examination of MSS. in the library of the cathedral, 114; Mr. Black's description of them, 114-116; excursion to Wilton, 116; Mr. Godwin on Wilton church, *ib.*; Wilton house, *ib.*; municipal records, 117; Bemerton church, *ib.*; evening meeting, Mr. Hills on round towers, *ib.*; Mr. Irving on Old Sarum, *ib.*; excursion to Durcombe church, 117; to Telford Ewyas rectory, 178; carvings at, *ib.*; visit to Wardour castle, *ib.*; reception by lord Arundell, 178; examination of, and description by, Mr. Davis, 179; description of the house, its valuable pictures, chapel, etc., 180; visit to Fissbury church, *ib.*; conversazione at the doerney, *ib.*; Mr. Black's further examination of the cathedral MSS., *ib.*; Mr. Syer Cuning's paper on some memorials of Charles II. as connected with Wills, 180-189; excursion to Stonehenge, 189; Dr. Thurnham's paper on, *ib.*; remarks on, by Mr. Pettigrew, Mr. Black, 191, 192; visit to Amesbury, *ib.*; reception by sir E. Anthonis, bart., *ib.*; Amesbury church, Mr. Davis on, *ib.*; Lake House, reception by rev. E. Duke, collection of antiquities at, 192-1; Great Durriford church, 191; Ogbury camp, *ib.*; conversazione at the Council Chamber in the evening, *ib.*; the mayor's reception, *ib.*; Mr. French's paper on ancient sculptured stones, *ib.*; Mr. Horman-Fisher on the proceedings in the Star Chamber against the recorder of Salisbury in 1632, 191-198; examination of documents relating to Trinity Hospital, by Mr. Black, 198; closing meeting at the Council Chamber, resolutions passed at, 199; visit to St. Nicholas Hospital, *ib.*; to Britford church, *ib.*; Mr. Harrod's paper on the supposed monument to the duke of Buckingham, 199-201; Mr. Pettigrew's further remarks on, 201-202; visit to the remains of the ancient palace of Clarendon, 205; visit to sir F. H. Bathurst, bart., reception at Clarendon park, 206
 Sarum (Old), remarks on, 12
 ——— visited, 113
 ——— on the earthworks at, 24-302
 ——— Tonalie, account of the MS. of, 202-205
 SAVORY (J.), exhibits Roman coin found in Fower ditch, 271
 Scotch brooches exhibited, 283, 284
 Sculptured stones of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, French on, 61-80
 Seal, forged matrix of, exhibited, 315
 SHEPPARD (major F.), obituary notice of, 171

SHERATT (J.), exhibits a denarius of Aelia, 360
 Silchester, antiquities found at, 357-358
 Silver ring found in Suffolk, exhibited, 272
 St. Dionysius, on remains of the priory of, 278-280
 St. Edmund's, Salisbury, remarks on, 17
 ——— visited, 110
 St. Martin's, Salisbury, remarks on, 18
 ——— visited, 110
 St. Thomas', Salisbury, remarks on, 16
 ——— visited, 110
 Stonehenge, Pettigrew's remarks on, 3-9
 ——— Thurnam on, 191, 192
 ——— Black on, *ib.*
 STREET (rev. H.), obituary notice of, 172, 173

T.

Telford Ewyas rectory visited, 178; description of carvings at, *ib.*
 TEMPLE (ROBT.), on treasure-trove, 100-104
 Tewkesbury abbey, kitchen's account, fourteenth century, 285, 318-
 THOMPSON (A.), exhibits a brass mortar, 1630, 268
 ——— chased watch-case, *temp.* George II., 288
 ——— Battersea enamels, 351
 ——— a silk purse, 360
 Thurible from Cologne, of the thirteenth century, exhibited, 282
 Tissbury church visited, 180
 Tortoiseshell ware, old, a dish of, exhibited, 285
 Traders' tokens exhibited, 351
 Treasure-trove, Irving on, 81-89, 273, 274
 ——— Temple on, 100-104
 Trinity hospital, Salisbury, documents relating to, 198
 Triple barreled firelock pistol exhibited, 286
 TURNER (D.), obituary notice of, 166-168
 TESSAUD (F. R.), obituary notice of, 165

U.

Uriconium, Mr. T. Wright on, 205-221, 311-317

V.

Valenciennes lace exhibited, 351
 VALLE (F.), exhibits Roman pottery and human remains from Wyke, 283
 VERNON (admiral), medals of, exhibited, 363

W.

WAKEMAN (T.), on a lease relating to the Hospitalers, 158, 201
 ——— Pembridge Castle, 153-159
 ——— a kitchen's account relating to
 Tewkesbury abbey, 14th century, 285, 318-
 ——— exhibits a reliquary of glass, 337

WAKEMAN (T.), on a glass etui of Italian fabric, 350
 ——— on encaustic tiles found at Monmouth priory, 363
 Wardour Castle visited, 178; reception by lord Arundel, *ib.*
 ——— description of, 179
 ——— House visited, its pictures and other antiquities examined, 180
 Warrington, antiquities from the museum of, described by Mr. Cuming, 231-236
 Watch-case, chased, *temp.* Anne, exhibited, 288
 ——— George II., exhibited, *ib.*
 WEBB (J.), obituary notice of, 168
 WELLBELOVED (rev. C.), obituary notice of, 168-170
 WESTWORTH (G.), sends transcript of letter concerning the civil war in 1715, 239
 ——— sends transcripts of an Arundel deed, 361

——— orders of gen. Lambert at the siege of Knaresborough castle, 361-3
 West Coker, quern found at, 359
 WICKENS (Miss), exhibits a drawing of the belfry tower of Salisbury cathedral, 284
 WILDE (G. DE), on the Bristol Exchange columns, 268
 WILKINSON (SIR G.), on rock basins, etc., 355
 WILLS (T.) exhibits a velvet pouch or dole bag, 267
 ——— two firelocks, *temp.* Chas. I., 272
 ——— various keys, seals, etc., 288
 Wilton, municipal records of, examined, 177
 ——— church, visit to, 176
 ——— Mr. Godwin's paper on, 131-141
 ——— house, visit to, 176
 Wiltshire, Pettigrew on the antiquities of, 1-26
 Winchester (Old) observations on, by B. Poste, 268-271
 WOOD (S.), exhibits the wrapper of funeral cards, 276
 ——— a dish of old tortoise shell ware, 285
 ——— a portion of Valenciennes lace, 351
 WOODHOUSE (S.), exhibits a glass plaque of Spanish work, 289
 WOOLLEY (T.), obituary notice of, 165
 WRIGHT (G. R.), exhibits silver coin of a grand master of the knights of Malta, 275
 ——— Belgian coins, 277, 278
 ——— (T.), on Uriconium, 205-224, 311-317
 ——— exhibits antiquities from Wroxeter, 350, 352, 358
 Wroxeter, antiquities and drawings of, exhibited, 350, 352, 358
 Wyke, Roman remains found at, 283
 WYON (B.), obituary notice of, 171, 172

Z.

ZANZI (A.), exhibits a Japan box with miniature, by Petitot, 271

LIST OF ENGRAVINGS.

1. Half timber houses at Salisbury, 19
2. Ancient hall in market place, ditto, 21
- 3 to 10. Ornamentation on sculptured stones, crosses, etc., 63 *et seq.*
11. Diminutive sepulchral effigies, 122
12. Antiquities at Gib Hill tumulus
13. Plan of Pembridge castle; seal and counter-seal of Philip de Thame, 151
14. Entrance gateway of Pembridge castle, *ib.*
15. Wroxeter. Northern side of the old wall, 211
16. ——— Hypocaust in the ruins, 216
17. ——— Remains of buildings opposite the east end of the old wall, 218
18. Wroxeter. Larger entrance to the quadrangular court, 220
19. ——— Worn steps and smaller entrance to the same, Inclosure at the back of the court, 221
- 20-23. Celtic antiquities found in Lincoln and Dorset, 226
24. British antiquities found in Lancashire, 231
25. Paulstab and ring found in Lancashire, 236
26. Earthworks in Lanarkshire and at Old Sarum.
27. Uriconium, inscriptions found at, 311
28. ——— antiquities found at, 316
29. Querns and various other antiquities, 337 *et seq.*
30. Knives, knife handles, etc., 316 *et seq.*

WOODCUTS.

Plan of San Clemente, 131
 Dagger from a barrow in Dorsetshire, 228
 Whorl of a Saxon spindle, 309

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